

# IN THESE TIMES



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FILM  
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## STEPPING DOWN

Kucinich's urban  
populism founders  
on the rocks  
of corporate  
opposition and  
poor organization.

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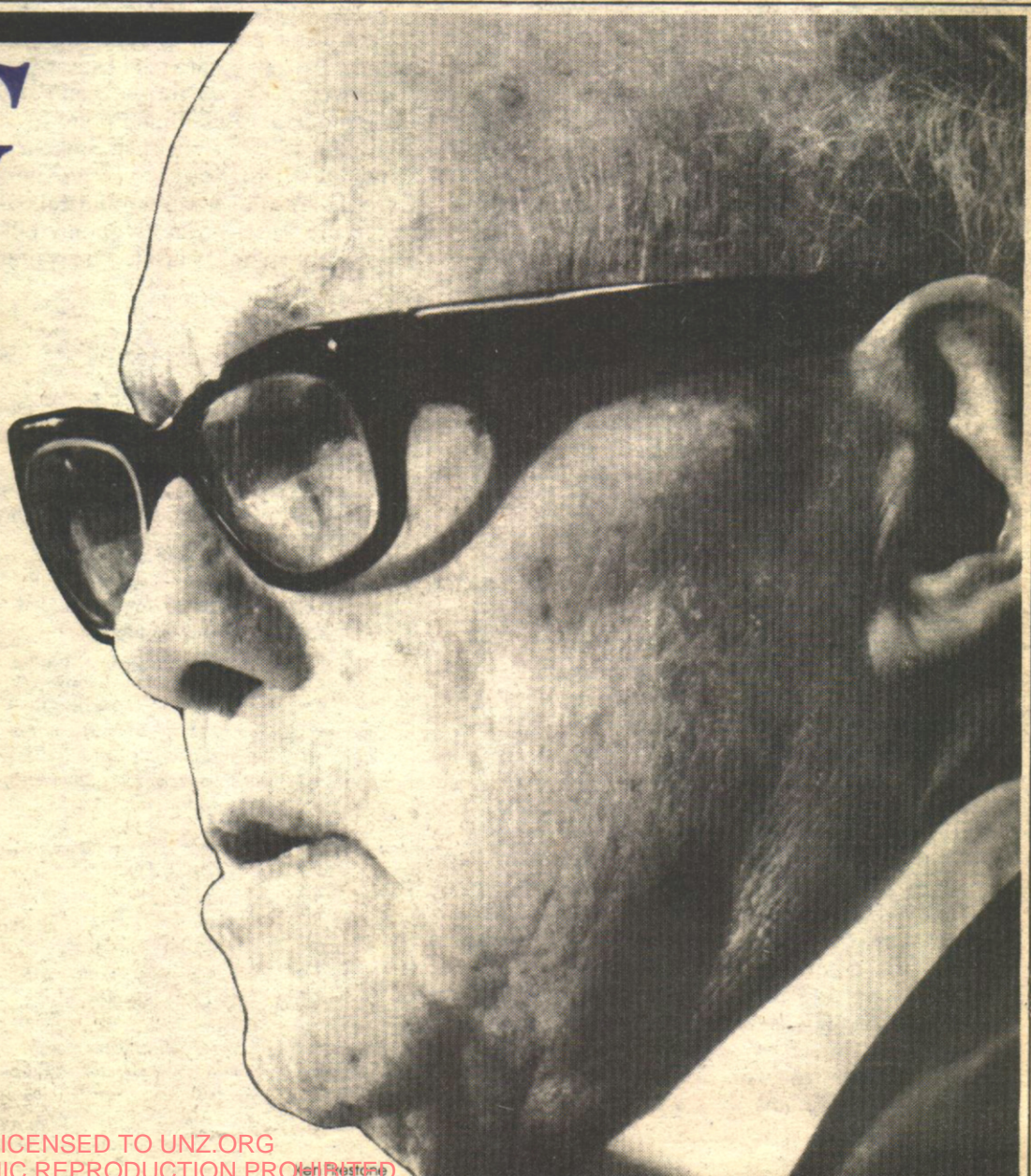


Al DiFranco

## BOWING OUT

George Meany,  
the long-time  
head of the  
AFL-CIO  
retires at 83.

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# THE INSIDE STORY



Palestinian representative Hisham Sharabi.

## Arabs and Israelis on the Potomac

By Norman Levine

WASHINGTON

The independent Israeli journal, *New Outlook* sponsored an international symposium on the Palestinian question in Washington, D.C., Oct. 27-30, to offer Palestinians a platform from which to address Israeli and American citizens. West Bank Palestinian mayors were invited to discuss reconciliation between Israeli and Palestinian national aspirations, and in the hope of sparking a peace movement among American Jews. But the mayors refused to come.

Palestinian representatives at the conference explained that the mayors stayed away as an expression of solidarity with the PLO, whose representative, Issem Sartawi, a moderate on the PLO general council, was denied an American visa.

A meeting in Washington between Sartawi and the left Israeli MP's present at the symposium would have been a propaganda victory for PLO moderates. For the left in the Knesset to have conferred with PLO moderates as legitimate representatives of the West Bank and Gaza would also have been an embarrassment for Begin. It would have bestowed on Arafat's movement a legitimacy that every Israeli government has bitterly denied. Because of this, conference goers believe, pressure from the Begin government on Carter kept Sartawi out of the U.S.

The West Bank mayors boycott, according to their spokesmen, was calculated to affirm the PLO as the legitimate representative of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, and to disassociate themselves from the Camp David accords. They wished to make clear that Egyptian-Israeli autonomy talks did not reflect their thinking. Distrust between Palestinians and Egyptians was deep. Indeed, before initially accepting the *New Outlook* invitation, the West Bank mayors demanded that Egyptians be excluded. A few Egyptians did attend, although few were invited.

Nevertheless, a Palestinian point of view was articulated by Hisham Sharabi, Professor of History at Georgetown University. Speaking at the opening session, Sharabi re-awakened memories of Frantz Fanon: the Palestinians were a colonized people; un-

der Israeli imperialism Palestinian national identity was crushed; a situation of total asymmetry existed between Palestinian and Jew; the Jew was conqueror, the Palestinian was Jew; dialogue between these two parties was impossible unless a situation of equality was first established; Jew and Palestinian could only be brought to a situation of equality after the Jew confessed his guilt and avowed his intention of rectifying the injustice he perpetuated upon the Palestinian (the injustice of the state of Israel) by recognizing the PLO as the sole bargaining agent of the Palestinian people and accepting the right of the Palestinian for a state of their own. Until this *mea culpa* from the Israeli's, the covenant of the PLO must remain in place, even though the covenant called for the destruction of the state of Israel.

Sharabi's argument was echoed by Elias Tuma, professor of economics at the University of California of Davis, and Farhat Ziadeh, Chairman of the Middle East Studies Department at the University of Washington. The Jewishness of the Palestinian, the exiled condition of the Palestinian, was poignantly symbolized by these men who now championed their peoples' struggle from the diaspora.

Raymonda Tawil spoke with greater authenticity. An inhabitant of the West Bank, expressive of Arab feminism, Tawil talked of Israeli colonialism. Tawil defended the actions of the West Bank mayors. They lived under the intimidation and threat of Israeli occupiers. She suggested that the Israeli's form of terrorism was the equal of the PLO's. Neither Tawil nor Sharabi entertained the idea that the mayors did not come out of fear of PLO assassination. This spectre was raised later in the conference by Arthur Hertzberg. He related a story of a seminar at Columbia University at which a PLO member of the central council spoke. Hertzberg quoted the reply of the PLO official to the question of why the PLO does not allow open political dissent: "The difference between the PLO and the Israeli's is that the Israeli's have courts and prisons to handle their dissenters, the PLO has only firing squads."

### New outlook.

*New Outlook*, founded by Martin Buber, is not associated with any political party. The journal is led today by Simha Flapan. Other prominent Israeli peaceniks, Matti Peled, Meyer Pa'il, Amos Alon, Amos Kenon and Arie Eliav are also on the editorial board. Recently, Eliav was awarded the Bruno Kriesky Peace Prize, granted by the Socialist International. Just as Buber focused on community between Palestinian and Jew, so Flapan and *New Outlook* accept the national aspirations of the Palestinians as the primary issue in the Middle East.

*New Outlook* is Zionist: It wishes to preserve Israel as a Jewish state. It defends the Law of Return. It is opposed to the PLO covenant. But *New Outlook* accepts the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, and favors a Palestinian state in these territories. The conference thus offered the spotlight to the PLO and placed the Egyptian/Israeli autonomy talks in the wings. Nevertheless, there were Palestinians who spoke from both sides of the argument. Sami Mari, Professor of Educational Psychology at Haifa University and Zeidan Atashi, member of Knesset for the Shai Party, both represented the moderate Palestinian point of view as Palestinian citizens of Israel. In their speeches they voiced their loyalty to the State of Israel, hoped that the PLO would amend its charter and called upon the PLO to join the Sadat-Begin autonomy talks. Theirs was the voice of a minority inside a majoritarian culture.

Egyptians at the symposium did not wish to forget the autonomy talks. Ahmed Nasr is on the editorial board of the liberal Egyptian journal *Ros El Youssef*. Egypt wants peace, he said, Egypt defended the Palestinian cause for three decades and carried the brunt of the fighting against Israel. We are not traitors to the Palestinian people, he insisted. But Egypt is in the process of turning its vision from the expansionist dreams of Nasser to the epoch of internal development under Sadat. West Bank mayors did not come to Washington because they want to destroy the Camp David accords, said Nasr. The Palestinian cause is being dominated by the rejectionist front of Libya and Syria, which, he asserted, are reactionary governments exploiting the Palestinians for their own interests. Egypt will not support a policy led by Qaddafi. The PLO must join the autonomy talks, as without Egypt there is no possibility of a military solution.

### Peace now.

Bringing West Bank Palestinians, including the PLO to the negotiating table is also the object of the *Peace Now* movement, which came into existence after Sadat's visit to Israel in November 1977. *Peace Now* is not a political party but an umbrella organization for all who seek negotiations. Represented at the symposium of Orii Lubin and Yael Tamir, *Peace Now* participated in order to reach out to moderates within the PLO camp. Lubin and Tamir both expressed their disappointment at the lack of West Bank presence, because it undercuts their position inside Israel. *Peace Now* feels that the PLO, once it accepts the principle of negotiations and implicitly renounces violence and its charter, should be a party to all peace negotiations. But hostile Israelis will take West Bank Palestinian failure to respond to the opening offered by *New Outlook* as proof they have read themselves out of the negotiating process, *Peace Now* people said.

Without West Bank mayors absent, center stage at symposium was pre-empted by the Israeli left. Parties of the Israeli left who attended the conference, as well as *Peace Now*, recognize they are a small minority inside Israel. Furthermore, only parties that recognize the right of the Jews to a state were invited. Rakah, the Israeli Communist Party, which calls for the abolition of the state of Israel, was not. Both Mapam and Shelli were represented.

The Israeli left, which coopted the peace issue at the symposium, not only from other Israeli parties but also from the Palestinians, has aligned itself with the policy of Bruno Kriesky and Willy Brandt of the Socialist International. Kriesky met with Yasir Arafat in Vienna in July 1979. Both Brandt and Kriesky have interpreted that meeting as a signal that Arafat and the PLO are willing to recognize Israel and to renounce their *de facto* covenant. Brandt and Kriesky recognize Sadat's historic breakthrough, accept the negotiating process initiated by the Camp David accords and see the need to bring the PLO into the negotiation process.

The Israeli left has also made contacts with the PLO. On Sept. 25, 1979, members of the Israeli left and the PLO met together in Rome. In Rome, Uri Avineri, Meyer Pa-il, and others meet with PLO moderates Dadjani and Sharar, both of the PLO central committee. At that time Dadjani and Sharar indicated the readiness of the PLO to accept a Jewish state and implicitly to surrender the claim of the covenant. To the Israeli left the Rome meeting and the Kriesky-Arafat Vienna meeting stand as signals that the PLO will accept a two state solution in Palestine.

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# Cleveland is back to big business

By John Judis

CLEVELAND

"OUR ADMINISTRATION has faithfully defended the rights of the people," Dennis Kucinich told a disheartened group of 200 campaign workers last Tuesday night. "Time after time, when the soul of the city could have been battered for our political safety, we showed we could not be bought. We stood up against the corporations, which are attacking the consumer every day, we challenged the oil companies, the utilities, the telephone company, the banks, and their media allies. Is it any wonder that we continue to remain as underdogs?"

"We sacrificed the mayor's office because we refused to bow and serve the money power in this community. I accept this price of defending the public interest."

Kucinich lost decisively, with only 44 percent of the vote, to Republican Lieutenant Governor George Voinovich. His defeat signals a pause in what Kucinich described as an experiment in "urban populism"—an attempt to unite Cleveland's long-divided working class blacks and ethnic whites against tax abatements for corporations, unwarranted price hikes by public utilities, corporate assaults on the environment, and the use of federal funds to enrich the few rather than to benefit the rich.

Any chance Kucinich had of overtaking the lead Voinovich established in the September primary was destroyed when Voinovich's nine-year-old daughter was killed by a car on Oct. 9. Her death caused a two-week suspension of Kucinich's attacks against Voinovich's "big business Republicanism."

But administration spokesmen ultimately blame the defeat on the unrelenting hostility of the banks, corporations, and major news media to Kucinich. This hostility was aroused by Kucinich's veto of City Council-passed tax abatements, his defense of Cleveland's public electric company, MUNY Light, his rejection of a Republic Steel ore dock that would have destroyed the city's port facilities, his cut-off of CBTA funds that had been used by downtown business through its Growth Association to supply low-wage temporary workers and his continuing ideological assault on what he termed the "corporate vampires that suck the blood out of our cities."

Cleveland's business community unanimously backed Voinovich against Kucinich. "You can't even talk to him," John Gelbach, president of the Central National Bank and chairman of the Growth Association, said of Kucinich. "He doesn't understand what the word 'business' means."

Gelbach and other businessmen were particularly concerned about the anti-business image that Kucinich had created in Cleveland. "We find it difficult to recruit a qualified core of potential young executives," Gelbach said.

Gelbach said he also feared Kucinich's politics. "He doesn't understand what he's talking about," Gelbach said. "But what he says sells. The people like it. They want to see wealth redistributed. No city can survive with that philosophy."

As of Oct. 11, businessmen had contributed the bulk of \$224,463 to Voinovich's campaign. Kucinich had received \$96,990, largely from two Helen Reddy concerts. One local reporter, who covered Voinovich, estimated that the final figures would show him outspending Kucinich ten-to-one.

Armed with the endorsements and the

notorious anti-Kucinich bias of the major news media—the subject of a recent analysis in the *Columbia Journalism Review*—Voinovich attacked Kucinich for his youth and immaturity (he is 31), for the arrogance and incompetence of his chief advisors and for his inability to work with all interests, meaning downtown business. He blamed Cleveland's economic difficulties—the city remains in default to the banks and has been shut out of the bond market—on the Kucinich administration's populist intransigence.

Voinovich won the backing of Cleveland's conservative AFL-CIO, which is dominated by the building trades and which opposed Kucinich's stand on tax abatements. He won the support of black City Council President George Forbes and black businessmen like *Call & Post* publisher W.O. Walker, a Republican. "I'm for getting along with the corporations and banks," Forbes said.

The continuing efforts of these leaders, along with that of the media and the Voinovich campaign, produced defeatism among Kucinich adherents and growing disenchantment among the unconvinced. Both were evident in interviews conducted the weekend before the election:

• "He's for the little guy, but the little guy can't win," one taxi driver, who supported Kucinich, said.

• "We need business to create jobs," a Hungarian-born small businessman, who had backed Kucinich in 1977 and 1978, said explaining his intended vote for Voinovich.

• "Dennis is for the common people, but what can the common people do?" a black janitor at Cleveland State Univ. asked. "Voinovich has the connections with big business, which is what we need."

Kucinich's vote declined sharply in white and black upper-middle income wards—one white ward he had won by four-to-three in 1977 went two-to-one for Voinovich. And he also lost a few

working class ethnic wards he had won by more than 60 percent two years ago.

## No organization.

A few loyal Kucinich officials and some members of the Ohio Public Interest Campaign (OPIC), a labor-backed coalition against tax abatements and plant shutdowns, thought Kucinich might have won even in the face of the business/media offensive.

OPIC associate director Paul Ryder didn't think Kucinich could have avoided the banks' attack on the city's finances or the constant battles with the Forbes-led City Council, but he thought the public would only tolerate such hardship and strife if it were accompanied by "better delivery of services and the development of organization."

Ryder thinks that the Kucinich administration did improve services, but that it failed to convince the public it had. "As soon as the Feb. 27 MUNY Light election was over, Dennis should have had a parade of the new snow plows the city had purchased," Ryder said.

Ryder said Kucinich built no organization in Cleveland's wards. "If neighborhood organizations had flourished, people in the neighborhoods would have felt connected to City Hall," he said. Instead, there was a growing feeling of distance from the ad-



Cleveland's new mayor, Republican George Voinovich.

ministration, fomented partly by official arrogance and partly by Alinskyite community groups committed to perpetual confrontation.

After Kucinich survived the August 1978 recall by only 236 votes, Kucinich supporters in OPIC and in the United Auto Workers (UAW) reportedly proposed a plan for building ward organizations that would be both

political and service-oriented, but in spite of official agreement, nothing was done to implement the plan. Kucinich's main advisor, Personnel Director Bob Weissman, blames the administration's failure to build a neighborhood base on the constant challenges it was subjected to. "People say a two-year term of office isn't long enough," he said. "But we weren't given two years. We were going from crash program to crash program."

## Race politics.

Some Kucinich administration members and some Cleveland leftists offered an additional explanation for Kucinich's defeat. They blamed it on what they describe as "racist" leaflets used in Cleveland's white west side and on Kucinich's refusal to take a stand on peaceful desegregation during the introduction of busing.

The leaflets asked white voters to support Kucinich because two blacks hated in the white community, Forbes and former School Board president Arnold Pinkney, were both backing Voinovich. The leaflets were boldly headed, "Black Democratic Officials Endorse Republican Mayor. Why?" The headline was bracketed by photos of Forbes and Pinkney.

Several Kucinich appointees refused to hand out the leaflets.

Weissman, who ran the campaign, defended the use of the leaflets. He distinguished between "racist politics" and "race politics." "Racist politics is conducting government on a biased basis or fomenting racial hostility," Weissman said. "Race politics proceeds with a recognition of the widespread nature of racist feeling and attempts not to lose political support on the basis of racist feeling and at best brings people with racist feeling into support of your programs without contradicting basic principles."

Weissman insisted that the administration's actual record was "100 percent pure." He cited Kucinich's appointment of four blacks in his 12-member cabinet.

Weissman argued that there is a "legitimacy" to racist opposition to busing, which he condemns as a "condescendingly liberal suburban solution to the inner city."

And he justified the leaflets as unavoidable "race politics." "The other side plays race politics," he said. "When you get hit with politics like that, you play for the backlash. Is that pandering to racism? It is, but it's our only way to keep some check on them. Should we be so pious as to allow ourselves to be done in?"

Some Kucinich officials, who had no quarrel with Weissman and Kucinich's opposition to busing, nevertheless saw the leaflets as a departure from the administration's strategy of developing black-white unity around economic issues and avoiding social issues. They saw the leaflets as a return to traditional Cleveland black vs. white politics.

## Black support.

In spite of the Weissman leaflets and Kucinich's opposition to busing, Kucinich did better in the black wards than before—45 percent against 37 percent and only 15 percent in the September primary. Kucinich's increased black support was probably due to last-minute intervention by NBC newsmen and former mayor Carl Stokes.

Kucinich was also supported by most

Continued on page 6.



## NUCLEAR POWER

Legislative reaction  
has further clouded  
the industry's future

# TMI report fuels anti-nukes

By Mark Alan Pinsky

WASHINGTON

**T**HE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION on the Accident at Three Mile Island kept the nuclear industry and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission under house arrest for almost seven months while it sorted through a notorious nuclear past. Oct. 30 the Kemeny Commission, named for its chairman, John G. Kemeny, President of Dartmouth College, announced its verdict—guilty, sort of—and recommended a sentence—public flogging with harsh words.

The Kemeny Commission Report strongly indicted the nuclear industry for its failure safely to produce nuclear-generated electricity. The report failed to recommend sufficient measures to assure public safety or, if public safety proves unattainable, to prohibit nuclear plants from operating. Many

nuclear critics agree it is difficult to assess how influential the Commission's strong findings will be, masked as they are behind largely ambiguous recommendations.

The day after the report was released, Rep. Morris Udall (D-Ariz.), chairman of the House Subcommittee on Energy and the Environment, announced that he had changed from opposition to a nuclear construction moratorium to "tentative support." Three days later, Sen. Gary Hart (D-Colo.), chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Nuclear Energy joined Udall in support of a suggested three-year halt to all new nuclear plant construction. Udall's and Hart's opinions will tilt scales when nuclear bills arise in Congress.

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission's (NRC) immediate response to the report increased its political weight. While Udall and Hart were announcing support of a construction moratorium, the NRC decided to implement a de'fac-

to moratorium "indefinitely," indicating they hoped to be able to end it in spring 1980. Struggling to prove its credibility in light of the Kemeny Commission Report's recommendation to restructure the NRC, the NRC said it will not grant any operating or construction licenses for nuclear power plants until it develops and adopts new safety, siting, and emergency response standards.

Although the Kemeny Commissions suggested public attention be focused away from the moratorium issue and toward the 44 recommendations the Commission did make, the public eye has fixed itself on moratoriums. Reporters want to know why Chairman Kemeny did not cast a crucial seventh vote when it would have approved a recommendation for a moratorium. He had voted in favor of two previous moratorium recommendation proposals. Reporters also wanted to know why the 12-member Commission could not agree on wording for a mora-

torium even though eight members favored recommending a moratorium at different points during the votes taken.

The pivotal figure on the Commission was Kemeny, who worked as a researcher for the Manhattan Project, the nation's all-out effort to develop a nuclear bomb during World War II. Commissioner Thomas Pigford, Chairman of the Department of Nuclear Engineering at the University of California at Berkeley, was the loudest pro-nuclear voice, although Commissioners Patrick Haggerty, Harry McPherson, and Lloyd McBride clearly favored nuclear power. Commissioners Bruce Babbitt (Governor of Arizona), Carolyn Lewis, and Russell Peterson consistently opposed pro-nuclear arguments. Other Commissioners often appeared swayed by Chairman Kemeny's thoughts and opinions, although each swung from side-to-side on various issues. In a number of occasions during the Commission's final review of the report, for example, Kemeny called Commissioner Cora Marrett, who was not in attendance, by phone and announced her votes, which often concurred with Kemeny's.

Other than moratoriums, prominent because recommendations for them are absent from the Commission's report, two recommendations are potentially far-reaching. Probably the report's strongest recommendation is that no utility should be given an operating license for a new nuclear plant until state and local emergency response plans are reviewed and approved by the Federal Emergency Response Agency. However, the report failed to provide a mechanism for assuring that this will provide for adequate emergency response planning.

The second important recommendation is the restructuring of the NRC, replacing the current five-member Board of Commissioners with a single chief executive officer and placing the entire organization under the Executive branch of the federal government. This is likely to amount to two years or more of

*Continued on page 11.*



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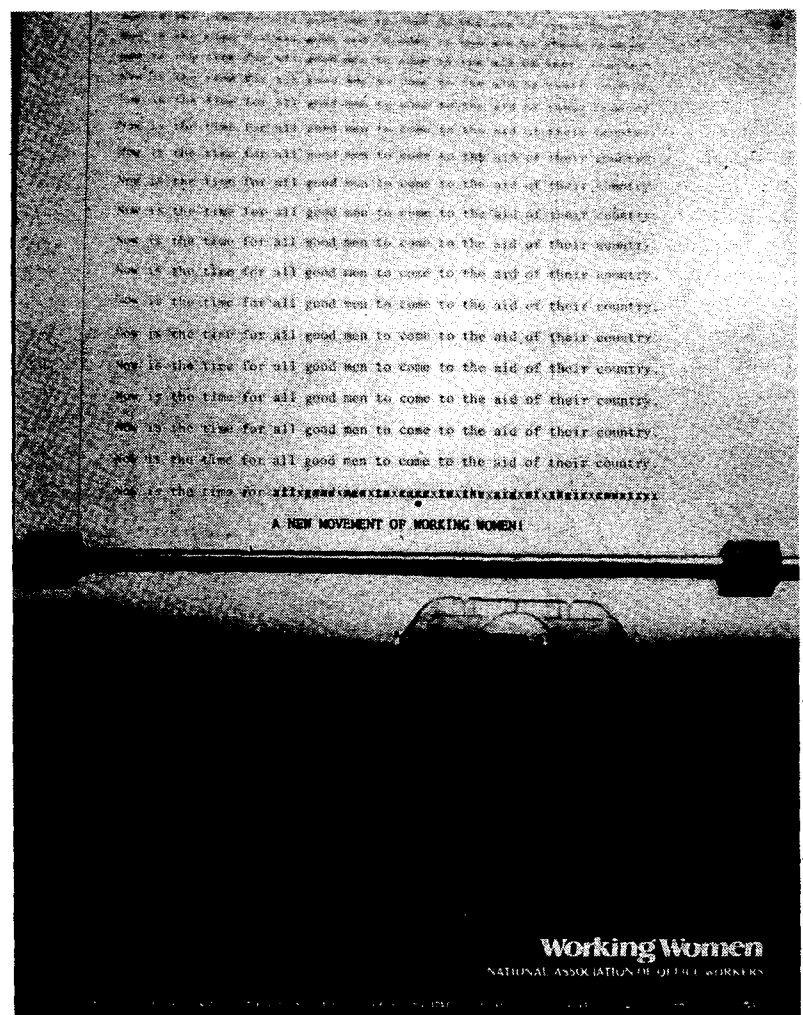
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# MEANY

**Most labor leaders think Kirkland will move the AFL-CIO in the right direction**

By Paul Fortney, Jr.

WASHINGTON

**O**PTIMISTIC, WITH RESERVATIONS, is the mood of most presidents of AFL-CIO affiliate unions as the labor federations enters the post-George Meany era. The majority of the presidents responding to a survey for *IN THESE TIMES* felt that Meany's chosen heir, Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland, is best qualified to head the AFL-CIO. As President Sol Chaikin of the International Ladies' Garment Workers (ILGWU) said, "Lane Kirkland is the most qualified candidate. He has all the pluses the new president is going to need."

The biggest plus Kirkland has was pointed out by Joseph Pollack of the Insurance Workers. "In line with his obligations to the organization, President Meany has very carefully trained and given vast experience to Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland," said Pollack.

International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers President Dave Fitzmaurice said the number one problem of organized labor is the flight of industry from the unionized Northeast and Midwest to the "right-to-work" states of the Sunbelt. He said the AFL-CIO should take a stronger role in coordinating the organizing efforts of affiliate unions.

"The AFL-CIO should do the same thing in organizing we do in political action," Fitzmaurice said. "We already have the staff and framework in place through the state and local central bodies. We could use this framework to direct our energies."

Chaikin believes American labor has a mixed future, depending on whether or not the government adopts "a rational trade policy." While he didn't spell it out, he left no doubt that the ILGWU's definition of rational trade policy means severely restricting imports of clothing, shoes and textiles.

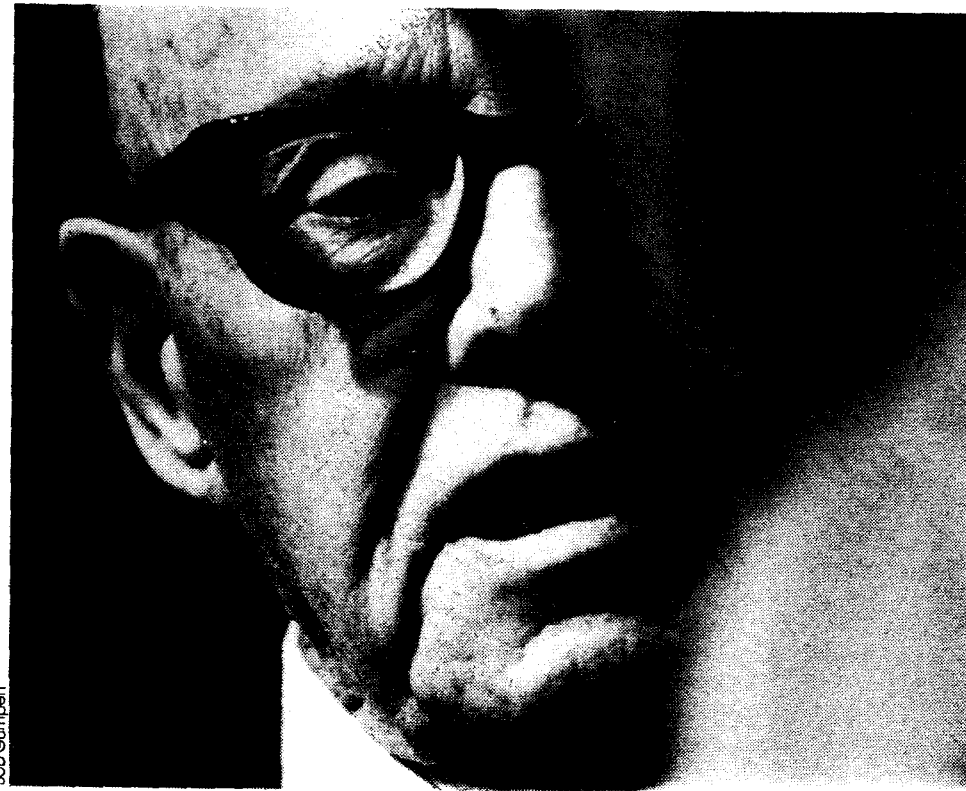
Chaikin also expressed optimism about the potential of organizing the South in the 1980s. He believes Southern workers will become more union-minded as a result of already unionized industry moving into the region. This is a positive factor in the shift of industry, Chaikin said.

Frank D. Martino, president of the International Chemical Workers Union, believes the labor movement must return to the outlook of the 1930s if it is to organize the South and insure its own survival in the next decade.

The ICU is currently locked in a bitter organizing battle with a Mississippi chicken processing plant profiled earlier this year in *IN THESE TIMES*.

The "return to militancy" theme was also sounded by President William G. Linder of the Transport Workers.

"I believe the American labor



movement will be sorely tested in the next few years much as it was during the early 1930s as a result of a strong right wing, anti-democratic and anti-labor political philosophy which more than ever is dominating the Republican Party and is strongly influencing the Democrats and big business in general," Linder said.

"The old economic struggle that has seen-sawed back and forth for decades, on how the wealth of this country shall be shared and by whom, is what the struggle is all about and those management, media and political forces who strive for a so-called union-free environment in the mold of the USSR, Iran and Saudi Arabia will have to be defeated either by effective political action or the resort to the good old-fashioned American industrial warfare.

"Obviously, the American labor movement must be prepared for both types of campaigns. It must and will succeed in order to preserve what is sometimes referred to as the American way of life," Linder said.

Office and Professional Employees President John Kelly believes the leadership of the AFL-CIO must be able to relate to the newly emerging sectors of the labor force; specifically women and minority groups. Kelly said the federation leaders must recognize that unless they organize white collar workers and service workers the labor movement will lose its effectiveness as a guardian of worker rights.

Kenneth Blaylock, president of the American Federation of Government Employees, is another union leader who sees greater emphasis on white collar and public sector employees as one of the strengths of the labor movement, but Blaylock feels the techniques of organized labor will undergo substantial change in the next decade.

Blaylock says he sees more mergers and consolidation among unions in the same areas and a greater emphasis on political and legislative action in the future.

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees President Jerry Wurf failed to respond to the survey. American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker declined a request for an interview and President George Hardy of the Service Employees International Union did not respond to written inquiries.

United Food and Commercial Workers Chairman of the Board Emeritus Patrick Gorman, who has been active in the labor movement since joining the staff of the Amalgamated

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen in 1911, sounded one of the few sour notes in the survey.

"I view the future of the American labor movement very dimly," Gorman said.

"We live in a different world now so far as the worker is concerned than that which was present under Walter Reuther. I do not believe that while the monied interests have established their operations and have plants in practically every nation on earth that the AFL-CIO can continue to be a vital factor in opposition so long as it thinks more of the local impact of what we do in American and have a deaf ear and a closed eye as to what workers in other countries are doing to make this world better for all."

Paul Fortney, Jr. is editor of *Labor Notes* in Washington, D.C.

**Meany fought the left as a threat to himself and his entrenched union pals**

By David Moberg

**B**ECAUSE HE HAS BEEN TITULAR head of the American labor movement for 27 years and because his looks are so distinctive—the hulking figure, the gleaming head, the horn-rimmed glasses, and the dour face with the favored cigar, George Meany has been a convenient symbol of American labor, picking up meanings as time passes much as a dog picks up burrs running through a field.

Yet it is not entirely fair to have Meany, who served briefly as a plumber before starting on a career as a labor official in 1919, represent all of labor. But he has had significant influence in his official positions, starting with his local union and moving up through presidency of the New York labor federation and secretary-treasurer of the old American Federation of Labor.

At the same time, he has reflected at least as much as he has molded some of the distinctive character of the American labor movement. Now that he has decided to step down from the presidency of the AFL-CIO at age 85, with secretary-treasurer Lane Kirkland certain to succeed him as the annual convention opens this week, it is worth looking at how Meany has symbolized labor for several decades, for that dimension of the labor movement will not retire when he does.

"Organized labor" better represents what Meany stood for than "the labor movement," for Meany was above all an organization man and did little to encourage—and much to discourage—the development of a social movement based in the working class and its unions.

From his origins in New York, where he was more concerned with keeping plumbers from New Jersey—or anywhere else—out of his local (to protect the jobs of members and their sons and friends) than with organizing unorganized plumbers, on through his years of trying to find means of resolving jurisdictional disputes among union rivals, Meany saw his task as holding together and speaking for the fragmented band of those already organized.

In the process, he often advocated policies that benefitted other workers. But that was a secondary concern. Likewise, the demands of organization meant that he paid first attention not to the needs of union members in the state or national labor federations, but rather to their officials. Solidarity may go on forever, but in the labor movement it often started—and ended—in the clubhouse atmosphere of top officials.

**Meany's best.**

Meany's greatest accomplishment may have been his work in negotiating the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1955, a feat that brought with it the same sort of loose unity and stubborn conservatism that had characterized the old AFL. Meany had learned to operate in that atmosphere, where the autonomy of each union was (generally) held sacred and a federation leader would be deferred to as long as each union president ran his own show, however badly.

Autonomy was only disturbed when the overall organization was threatened. Meany took action—more than many of his colleagues wanted—on corruption and racial discrimination in member unions, but only when forced to by outside pressures. Then he moved deliberately, axing the Teamsters or devising a method for recruiting blacks into apprenticeship programs, doing only as much as he thought necessary to preserve the overall organization and disturbing the sacrosanct autonomy as little as possible.

By contrast, when it came to fighting Communists (or anyone who could be labeled a Communist), autonomy was forgotten and Meany fought vigorously—enough to win the deep respect of J. Edgar Hoover and many other anti-labor architects of the anti-Communist crusade. Meany fought the left not only because he disagreed with its views, but also because he saw the left and its program for labor, organizing and political action as disturbing the sedate functioning of the organization and the power of his entrenched pals. Similarly, even though he was budged to speak out against corruption, Meany rarely said a

*Continued on page 6.*



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# Meany

Continued from page 5.

word about the more generalized lack of democracy in so many unions, except to denounce Communists as undemocratic.

Taking such a position made Meany, and many other labor officials, "statesmen" in the eyes of corporate leaders and conservative politicians who used anti-communism as a weapon against labor. It meant that Meany could carry on politics by the means he preferred—the quiet backroom conversation, the telephone call to the White House, the discreet lobbying in legislative halls.

"Our goals as trade unionists are modest," Meany wrote in *Fortune* in 1955, "for we do not seek to recast American society in any particular doctrinaire or ideological image." "More" had satisfied Gompers, and it satisfied Meany, too. But if Meany did not want to "recast" American society, it did not mean that he lacked ideology. Speaking for himself, but through the mouth of the average "essentially conservative" trade union member, Meany argued (in 1944, but with a view that remained unchanged) that "he believes in free enterprise and capitalism and wants to earn a piece of it."

## Saving the world.

If Meany did not want to recast the U.S., he was determined to recast the rest of the world—in the image of the U.S. The sorriest aspect of his record is in foreign policy. From his earliest years in the AFL-CIO, Meany took a hawkishly anti-communist position that led the AFL-CIO to become linked to the CIA and to serve as the willing, active agent of U.S. subversion of progressive trade union and political movements overseas—contributing in instances such as the overthrow of governments in Guatemala, Guyana and Brazil to the emergence of ferociously anti-labor, dictatorial regimes.

In recent years, Meany has been angry with the shift of U.S. capital overseas and loss of jobs here. Ironically, the foreign policy of the AFL-CIO helped to create the political conditions favorable

to such a flight of capital.

During the Vietnam war, which Meany supported with unflinching conviction, this hawkishness contributed not only to the death of tens of thousands of sons of American workers but also to the growing estrangement of labor from progressive movements generally. The racism of many unions, and the hesitant moves to deal with such issues by Meany, also alienated many blacks from the labor movement, even though blacks continue to have great, long-postponed faith in organized labor as a vehicle of their advancement.

Meany would not lend his support to civil rights demonstrations, nor would he even endorse labor demonstrations such as unemployment. He was afraid, as his biographer Joseph C. Goulden reported, that such rallies would attract radicals and "we want no damned part of it." Partly because of his refusal to mobilize union members through their organizations (a sentiment shared by many other officials who feared that an active rank and file could disturb them), labor has been far less effective politically than it could have been.

Nevertheless, at times George Meany has been one of the few voices speaking out on behalf of American workers, as in his criticisms of Nixon's wage-price controls. At other times, as in its campaign against George Wallace in 1968, the AFL-CIO under Meany has taken important steps politically. On many other important legislative issues, such as civil rights, medicare, and other social welfare legislation, Meany and the AFL-CIO have been an important weight and active lobbying force on the left of American politics with regard to those policies. Yet the failure of the AFL-CIO approach to politics became most clear in this decade when it lost its battle on labor law reform—on behalf of which it never mobilized organized workers.

George Meany persisted and succeeded because he was a bulwark of the *status quo* within the labor movement and no threat to the essential balance of power in the U.S. His greatest achievement, he told his biographer, was "keeping the boys together." But his actions to preserve organized labor have undermined the labor movement, and the weakening of the labor movement has hurt all workers, unionized or not. ■

# Kucinich

Continued from page 3.

progressive blacks. C.J. Prentiss, a Board of Education candidate and a leader of the pro-busing group WELCOME, said that both Voinovich and Kucinich had committed "racist acts." She supported Kucinich because of his "populist views."

Stokes and leaders like Prentiss counter balanced the influence of Forbes and Walker, who opposed Kucinich on his economic policy, but used his "race politics" as the basis for charging him with being more of a racist than Voinovich.

But his improved performance does not invalidate the criticisms of Kucinich's "race politics." While Kucinich may not be another populist-turned-racist like Tom Watson, independent journalist Roldo Bartimole charges that Cleveland politics bears a frightening resemblance to post-Reconstruction Southern politics: a Bourbon ruling class maintains its hold over angry poor whites through alliance with opportunistic black leaders. It is no accident, one Kucinich supporter remarked, that Forbes is the business elite's main representative in city government.

For Kucinich's urban populism to succeed, he would have to build an

alliance of whites and blacks, not black support on the grounds that he was the lesser of two racists. While it may be impossible to achieve this as long as issues like busing divide Cleveland's East and West sides, Weissman's "race politics" strategy does not seem to promise longterm success.

## Building a movement.

Voinovich will have smooth sailing in his first few months in office. The banks will be only happy to roll over the city's debts now that Kucinich is out of office. Voinovich will also be able to take credit for several new downtown construction projects.

But Voinovich, no less than Kucinich or Ralph Perk, faces a city with near-insoluble problems. Cleveland has lost population faster than any other major city, and its massive busing program will undoubtedly speed the flow of both whites and blacks to the suburbs. This will further diminish Cleveland's tax base. At the same time, the recession will increase unemployment, while inflation raises the cost of city services.

Voinovich hinted at his economic strategy during the campaign: selective tax abatements for downtown construction, rate hikes for MUNY Light, and probably an attempt at a tax increase. Tax abatements will only aggravate Cleveland's fiscal decline, and increased rates and taxes will bring forth the wrath of a populace that, in the words of OPIC's Paul Ryder, "got a Ph.D. in economics during the Kucinich administration."

Voinovich will also have to face a city council with several new faces elected on the basis of a Kucinich-style urban populism. Among these is Jay Westbrook, OPIC's Cleveland director, who soundly defeated a Forbes-allied incumbent. ■



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## KLAN MURDERS

# Sudden death in North Carolina march

By Bob McMahon

CHAPEL HILL, N.C.

**M**EMBERS OF THE MONTH-old Communist Workers Party (formerly Workers' Viewpoint Organization) greeted each other with smiles as they began chanting "Death to the Klan" to warm up for a planned march on Greensboro, N.C., Nov. 3. As residents of a black housing project that the CWP had chosen as the site for their rally looked on warily, a line of cars began winding through the crowd.

Whites in some of the cars began taunting the racially mixed crowd and some of the demonstrators started pounding on the vehicles, repeating "Death to the Klan."

What happened next is unclear, but according to one report a white man with a shotgun got out of a car and fired a shot in the air. This was followed by shots in the air by demonstrators, and then by a fusillade of shots from the whites, who had a small arsenal of guns in a yellow van.

Within a minute, four CWP members lay dead and 10 were wounded. One of these, Paul Bermanzohn, died of head wounds two days later. Police, who had been observing the rally from a distance, moved in and arrested 12 men. Two others were arrested the next day. On Nov. 5, all 14 men were denied bail. Twelve were charged with first degree murder, for which they could receive the death penalty, and conspiracy to commit murder. The remaining two, one of whom was identified as a member of the "Storm Troopers"—the paramilitary wing of the National Socialist Party—were charged only with conspiracy.

CWP organizers in Greensboro charged that the Klan attack at the rally was a carefully planned conspiracy, carried out with the complicity of the local police. They supported their charge by pointing out that all the dead—Sandra Smith, Cesar Cauce, Bill Samson, Michael Nathan and Bermanzohn—as well as Jim Wrenn and Thomas Clark, who were seriously wounded, were CWP leaders.

"All were singled out with deadly accuracy," said march organizer Nelson Johnson, a former student leader at North Carolina A&T State University.

"This is the work of a SWAT-type team of highly organized assassins," he said.

CWP leaders in New York added the FBI to the list of conspirators. Margaret Chin, speaking for the group in New York, conceded that they had no evidence of FBI complicity, but added "We don't have any illusions about how the govern-



Nelson Johnson of the Communist Workers Party walking past a fallen comrade after four were killed and 10 wounded in Greensboro, N.C.

ment has used the FBI and how the FBI has used the Klan."

Without endorsing the conspiracy charges, Southern civil rights and civil liberties groups, including Steve Suits of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta and Joseph Lowery of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, linked the killings to a recent upsurge of Klan violence. "If the police had been doing their job, this wouldn't have happened," a Greensboro NAACP leader noted. The mayor of Greensboro responded to the NAACP demand for an independent investigation of the incident by promising an inquiry into police responses to it.

Others who were familiar with Workers' Viewpoint and CWP activities pointed out that the group had appeared armed with guns at a Klan rally in China Grove, N.C., a few weeks earlier. CWP members burned a Confederate flag there as Klan members watched. China Grove was hailed as a "victory" by the CWP and as proof of Klan cowardice in the face of an aroused working class. But others attributed the absence of violence to massive police presence at the rally.

In leaflets for the Nov. 3 march, CWP repeated its charge of Klan cowardice and challenged two Klan leaders by name to show up. Paul Bermanzohn, one of those killed, lashed out at the Klan, saying "They must be physically beaten back, eradicated, exterminated, wiped of the face of the Earth." A CWP leaflet concluded: "We take you seriously and will show you no mercy."

In its anti-Klan activities, the CWP was locked in a contest of militancy with a rival Maoist group, the Revolutionary Communist Party. Only a few days before the fatal march, an RCP leader in Greensboro reportedly accused CWP leader Nelson Johnson of "collaborating with the Klan."

In the escalating rhetoric, CWP returned threat for threat with the Klan, never seeming to consider that the Klan might actually shoot, according to local observers. These observers also contend that the Klan has little influence or following in North Carolina. They worry that the attention focussed on the Klan by the events in Greensboro will distract opposition to the new right movement centered around Sen. Jesse Helms, a movement that is clearly much more powerful in the state.

Bob McMahon is active in left politics in Chapel Hill, N.C. and writes for *In These Times* on regional subjects.

## EDUCATION

# California judge rules IQ tests unconstitutional

By Herbert A. Schreier

BERKELEY, CALIF.

...to depict psychotechnology as "simply" a matter of techniques serves to obscure the fact that all socially organized efforts to control behavior are really efforts by some people to control the behavior of other people...psychotechnological theories and procedures tend to reflect and reinforces the interests and objectives of dominant groups...

From *Genesis to Genocide*  
Stephen Chorover, MIT Press, 1979

**I**N 1916, LEWIS Terman, working at Stanford University in California, developed the first truly American I.Q. test. It was Terman's recommendation that children of Spanish-Indian, Mexican and Black American be "segregated in special classes....as they cannot master abstraction, but they can often be made efficient workers..." In a fitting twist of justice, a federal judge in Terman's home state of California, Oct. 17, declared the use of I.Q. tests to place children in special classes unconstitutional.

The I.Q. testing movement in the U.S., supported by generous help from industrialists in the early part of this century, provided a basis for segregating "managers" and "workers" at an early age while maintaining the ideology of meritocracy in the public schools. Later, with support from Labor, it helped forge policies on immigration which defined eastern Europeans, Jews, Italians, and Mexicans as unwelcome inferiors; it lent support for the sterilization of epileptics, imbeciles, "chronic masturbators," criminals and other "threats to the social order."

In the '60s Arthur Jensen used data derived from these same tests to suggest the genetic inferiority of blacks, and in the early seventies, Richard Herrnstein did the same for the American working classes. The data used by these later theorists have recently been shown to

have been intentionally faked.

I.Q. test scores are used in the school system to track children into classes for the mentally gifted as well as classes for the mentally retarded. In practice, this has resulted in an over-representation of minority and poor children in these classes. For example, while blacks account for 27.5 percent of enrollment in 20 California school districts, they represent 62 percent of children in classes for the retarded. Critics have argued that tests measure skills, not innate intelligence, and have devised tests of logical thinking and language that black children excel on. In 1971, they filed a class action suit on behalf of six black children, charging that the tests are invalid and that "the stigma attached to the EMR (educationally mentally retarded) notation on their record and the widening gap in actual learning....deny [them] any chance to realize their potential."

After eight years, which saw a court ordered moratorium on the use of I.Q. tests as a vehicle for class placement in California, U.S. District Court Judge Robert Peckham found for the plaintiffs, declaring the tests "cannot be valid." He found the practice by the schools was discriminatory: "Educators have too often been able to rationalize inaction by blaming educational failure on an assumed intellectual inferiority of disproportionate numbers of black children. That assumption without validation is unacceptable."

The decision comes at a time when the Carter administration is following an "anti-inflation" policy that threatens to deepen the recession and raise unemployment rates. Social welfare programs are being cut in an attempt to achieve stability. Judge Peckham's ruling will release a small group of children from dead-end school corners, back into the mainstream. Whether they will now receive an adequate education, and, if so, whether there will be jobs for them once they graduate remains doubtful.

Herbert A. Schreier, M.D. is clinical Director of Family Guidance Services at Childrens Hospital, Oakland, Cal.

## What are they doing here?

At a news conference on Nov. 6, leaders of Greensboro's public housing communities said they felt "victimized" by the group that staged the anti-Klan demonstration on Nov. 3 at which five people were killed.

Ruth Beasley, president of the Morningside Homes residents council, pleaded for the Communist Workers Party to call off further demonstrations in the community.

Appearing with presidents of seven other Greensboro public housing projects, Beasley said she had no idea why the group chose the Morningside community for its anti-Klan rally.

Beasley and the other council presidents said they knew of no support for the leftist group in their communities. "I just don't know why they would come into our neighborhood," she said.



## PARK ASSASSINATION

## Business as usual for South Korea

By David Fleishman

NAGOYA, JAPAN

**T**HE 18-YEAR RULE OF SOUTH Korean President Park Chung Hee came to an abrupt end Oct. 26 when Park and his ranking aide were killed in a well-planned assassination carried out by Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) gunmen under the direction of long-time Park confidant and KCIA chief Kim Jae Kyu.

While Park himself has been removed for good, the sources of power and instruments of authority—both domestic and foreign—that kept him in power for so long, all remain intact. There's little evidence to suggest that Park's death will bring any real change to South Korea.

In fact, the indications are that Park was killed by his regime's next most powerful men precisely because his continued presence was an increasing liability to the administration he headed.

His death, rather than ushering in long-awaited change, is likely to lengthen the life of the regime.

Resistance to Park's government has been growing more militant and unified since the opposition New Democratic Party chose Kim Young Sam as its leader in May. In October, things got seriously out of hand. The entire opposition in South Korea's national assembly resigned en masse, openly attesting to the futility of trying to work through the system.

Pro-government assembly members were stymied. Accepting the resignations would only acknowledge the abandonment of the regime's last pretense at "Korean style democracy."

Then, a week later, students and workers in the vital industrial port cities of Pusan and Masan deliberately attacked and severely damaged dozens of police stations, government offices and pro-government media centers. In Pusan, they captured Park's ruling party headquarters and held it for hours.

Authorities in Seoul responded with a martial law declaration. Military units, under the command of U.S. Gen. John Wickham, moved in swiftly. According to well-informed travelers from Seoul, troops killed at least five people in Pusan, including the young woman led the demonstration at Pusan University campus, sparking the assault on the government facilities.

With open resistance against Park's regime rapidly on the rise, the authorities in Seoul had to act. The lessons of Iran and Nicaragua, where the whole power structure fell along with a tyrant who had lost his grip, were too fresh to be ignored.

Park had become a near universal target of hostility. But under South Korea's Yushin constitution, Park's removal could be accomplished "only by his own agreement, by death, or by revolution," in the words of a U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Report.

The ruling circle in Seoul was confronted with those three options. The first path to Park's removal, that of his agreement, was not available. The third path, that of revolution, was to be avoided at all cost. So, the second path, Park's death, became necessary.

Back in 1972 the Senate Foreign Relations Committee concluded that for those opposed to Park's one man dictatorship there was "virtually no option but to seek his removal by extra-legal means."

Although he headed their government for 18 years, Park Chung Hee never gained the support of the Korean people. Since 1961, when he led the military coup that toppled Korea's only democratically elected government,

Park's position was not secure. Although he gradually eliminated from his inner circle his partners in the 1961 junta who were suspected of wavering loyalty, Park was never able to leave Korea for travel abroad.

Park's rise to power, and his service to foreign interests, began in the 1930s. Imperial Japan subdued the Korean peninsula in 1910 after a two-and-a-half year guerilla war. The Japanese exploited the land until 1945, under constant attack from the Korean resistance across the border in Manchuria.

During that period Park wrote a petition in his own blood requesting permission to join the Imperial Japanese army. Having made his ties to the foreign powers that still dominate his country, Park changed his name to Okamoto Minoru and set out to prove himself worthy to his military superiors.

On graduating from Japan's Manchuria Military Academy, Okamoto/Park became an officer in the service of the emperor. He later was chosen for advanced training at the central Japanese military academy, an honor reserved for a select few. Academy commandant General Nagumo commended Park at his graduation, observing even though cadet Okamoto Minoru is of Korean ancestry, his sense of loyalty to the emperor is such that it is difficult to find his peer among the Japanese cadets."

When the Americans took Korea



South Korean President Park Chung Hee (center) dedicates a dam on a Friday afternoon. By Saturday morning he was dead.

run for president. But, two years later when elections were allowed, he did. In 1971, after 10 years in office, Park promised the Korean electorate that he would never run in another election. This time he kept his promise.

The following year, his regime changed the South Korean constitution, making Park president for life. Throughout Park's remarkable career, one man, Kim Chong Pil has been closely associated with him and remains

the choice of Park's temporary successor. Choi Kyu Ha, a quiet career diplomat, who followed Kim as prime minister in 1975. Choi was described by Dr. Lee Jai Hyon, former attache in the Washington embassy of Korea and now a political exile in the U.S. as "a blind obedient follower" not known to exercise power on his own.

Choi is expected to hold the office of acting president only until someone else can be chosen. Because Park's Ushin constitution had no provision for his replacement, that may take a while. But when the dust settles, Kim will probably be in control.

Life under Kim will differ little from the recent past. While Kim repeatedly differed with Park over brutal suppression of troublemakers, his foreign and domestic goals are indistinguishable from those of the late president. In fact, before Park's body was cold, economic minister Shin Hyon Kwak assured Japanese and American businessmen that "all economic policies will be maintained as before." This is in spite of South Korea's sharply rising unemployment and runaway inflation, estimated by the government-controlled Federation of Korean Trade Unions at over 45 percent. Financial leaders in Tokyo soberly note that Park's death will not affect the ties between Japan and its former colony, whose trade deficit with Japan jumped by \$4 billion last year.

While the Park government grew shakier, the Carter administration kept up its steadfast support for the republic. U.S. military aid in 1979 exceeds the last five years put together. But since Aug. 12, when a thousand Seoul riot police smashed the New Democratic Party's headquarters, official U.S. criticism of Park had grown more candid.

The U.S. embassy in Seoul undoubtedly know of the plot to kill Park. Apparently it gave its nod of approval, or at least refrained from intervening. Park was totally dependent on U.S. support, and no one in the government could think of replacing him without being assured of that support's continuation.

The South Korean military itself is still under the command of the top U.S. General in Korean and even a declaration of martial law requires his approval.

U.S. ambassador Gleysteen's three hour meeting with opposition leader Kim Young Sam the day before Park's murder is given great significance by some observers.

The *Mainichi Shimbun*, a highly respected Japanese daily, reported that U.S. officials in Washington obtained information suggesting an anti-Park operation and failed to notify Park, who was increasingly being seen as incapable of rule.

## The lessons of Iran and Nicaragua, where the power structures fell along with the tyrants, could not be ignored.



Former Korean CIA chief Kim Jae-kyu is questioned after Park's assassination.

over from imperial Japan, they picked Park, who had wisely switched back to his original name.

Switching loyalties once again in 1948, Park abandoned his oaths and joined the communists who launched the abortive Yosu rebellion against the American authorities. After the communist-led revolt failed, Park regained his own good graces by giving the Americans a list of all the other participants, including his own elder brother, who was subsequently executed.

In 1961, Park again demonstrated the ability to advance his own career. Then a Lieutenant General in the army, Park violated his oath and overthrew the constitutionally elected government of Chang Myon, who had replaced U.S.-sponsored dictator Syngman Rhee. After the coup, Park promised he would not

at the center of power in South Korea. Kim is reputed to have masterminded the coup that brought Park to power in 1961 and was his prime minister until resigning in December 1975.

Kim Chong Pil has been recognized for years as Park's heir apparent. But, because Park intended to hold the reigns for the rest of his life, Kim was also seen as a potentially deadly rival. In 1974, Kim split with Park over emergency decrees one and two, which banned criticism of the Yushin constitution. These were the first of nine edicts that erased all civil liberties in South Korea. The following year, when Kim resigned, there was speculation that he wanted to distance himself from Park to clear his own name in preparation for the time when Park could be replaced.

One indication of Kim's future role is



## VIETNAM INTERVIEW

## Viet official defends Cambodia policies

By Didi and Punsak Vinyaratu

Every year in September Vietnam sends its representative to the United Nations General Assembly. In this interview two days before his return home, Deputy Foreign Minister Phan Hien responds to some of the questions and criticisms of his country's role in the Southeast Asia refugees problem, the near starvation of the Cambodian people and the future of Vietnamese relations with the Southeast Asian countries.

**What are the main differences between Vietnam and China?**

The Chinese leaders pursue a policy of chauvinism and nationalism. They always have the idea in their minds of a powerful China as it was under the emperor. This idea came out step by step because first they fought against Japanese imperialism, then U.S. imperialism and other foreign domination. Mao's dream was a nationalistic and chauvinistic China.

We Vietnamese have not studied Mao enough. In the beginning of our relationship China seemed to take a very strong anti-imperialist position, but their true ideas appeared more clearly in 1954 during the Geneva Conference. If they hadn't pressed only their own interests we would have had a very important success. They pressured us very hard to accept the 17th parallel. They advised us to be patient during the U.S. aggression against us, but they only wanted us as a buffer zone in the south while they were in contradiction with the U.S.

**Did your party concede some special rights to China in regard to Chinese people living in Vietnam?**

As you know, during the resistance war we didn't control the towns before the battle of Dien Bien Phu. But after 1954 we agreed that the Chinese could gradually become citizens of Vietnam. This also applied to Vietnamese living in China, though we didn't have many living there.

In 1957 the Chinese embassy organized the "New Vietnam Chinese" newspaper as well as an overseas Chinese association. They had their own schools and put their own Chinese teachers in the schools, but later Vietnam gradually regulated the schools. The Chinese wanted to export their cultural revolution to the south too. I can tell you, it created great difficulty for us during the time. We made some agreements with them, but we never supported the cultural revolution.

**Did your government or your party make any agreement with the Chinese for separate organization and separate development of Chinese people living in Vietnam?**

Vietnam had no written agreement with the Chinese, but we told them it was O.K. You must remember that during the resistance we needed friends in order to have a policy of flexibility. Once Deng Xiaoping, before his first defeat in the Chinese party struggle, proposed to give Vietnam one billion yuan if Vietnam would repudiate Soviet assistance forces. It would have been foolish of us to have done that. The Chinese refused to have a united front with the Soviet Union against the U.S., so Soviet aid to us by way of China has encountered many difficulties since the 1960s.

**We have heard that there was an understanding between your Prime Minister and the Thai Prime Minister that you would not position your troops within five kilometers of the Thai border.**

I don't know if there was a formal understanding to that effect, but because we know the Thai are sensitive we maintain strict orders to our troops not to go too close to the Thai border. We know that there is an element who

**"Vietnam and the Soviet Union have contributed 200,000 tons of food to Cambodia. Only 300 tons have gone in so far from the U.S."**

would like to use this situation to divide Thailand and Vietnam.

**Let's be more specific. Assuming that some of the Pol Pot forces cross over from the Thai side and attack the Heng Samrin forces, would the Heng Samrin forces follow them back into Thai territory?**

It is a military problem if Pol Pot and others infiltrate Cambodian territory. There must be a plan to annihilate them. We have solid proof that the Thai are involved. We have documents that there were talks between Thailand, China and Pol Pot. In the first days after the collapse of Phnom Penh there was an agreement to give Pol Pot five million dollars and deposit it in a bank in Thailand. This could only be done by Chinese with Thai complicity. The Thai government said that help to the Pol Pot forces was done through Chinese merchants. The Chinese want to create two administrations in Cambodia. Now there is only one, and the remnants of Pol Pot are only bandits.

In regard to the Heng Samrin forces, I think they respect the territory of Thailand. The Thai claim to be neutral, so it is better for them to stop supporting the Pol Pot remnants. Now we must say that they let Pol Pot have sanctuaries, so this is interference in the internal affairs of Cambodia.

**How can the Thai be sure that the Heng Samrin group will not be an anti-Thai government?**

We think the Heng Samrin government is approaching a non-aligned policy. This government has many things to do. Their society was completely destroyed. They have suffered so much under Pol Pot. They are like a sick man who has just recovered. They need everything from their friends. To have bad relations with the Thai would be completely crazy.

**How are Thailand, Vietnam and China to have a workable relationship?**

Southeast Asian countries must understand if Vietnam is dominated by China who will be the next victim. The Japanese conquered Southeast Asia in the Second World War. With more sophisticated armaments now, not only smaller countries in Southeast Asia, but big countries as well will suffer. The Southeast Asian countries must be aware of the greater danger, and not let the area be divided by Chinese expansionism.

If China really pursues a policy of peace and independence in Southeast Asia we are prepared to have good relations with her. If they let us rebuild our country in peace we would like to have a good relationship with China. We cannot go to the moon to get away from them. We must eventually get to the point where all these countries can live in peace together.

But if they attack our sovereignty we will fight. The Chinese know this only a little. We must be prepared to receive



Vietnamese Deputy Foreign Minister Phan Hien (left) at April 18 talks with Chinese at Hanoi following border clashes between the Communist neighbors.

them well if they come on to our soil. Our territory must be defended. The Chinese can have a peoples' war in their own country, but if they send one or two million troops into our country they will be in the minority, and we will wage a peoples' war. We will fight them in their human waves. We do not wish this to happen; it would be very bad for Vietnam. But if it happens it happens.

**There seem to be some changes in the internal politics of China lately, such as the effort to reinstate Liu Shaoqi. Do you see a possibility that these changes in China might help to improve relations between Vietnam and China?**

We hope that the realist forces in China will one day emerge and reestablish friendship with Vietnam. There seem to be several factions in Peking—all kinds of demonstrations. As you know, it is very difficult to have a demonstration in China.

I was twice in China and I talked with Mr. Han Nienlung, my counterpart (Deputy PM of China). When I said white he said black, when I said concrete he said abstract, when I said left he said right. They want to create difficulties for us now and this is very clear. "You can only gain in the field of negotiations when you have already gained on the battlefield." That's a Chinese saying, but they change their own sayings every day.

**Has there been an agreement on aid to the Cambodian people between the Heng Samrin government and the international agencies?**

Heng Samrin's government has stated his government is ready to accept aid from any government without any political conditions. His government is the only government to receive this aid. He is against the scheme to make it two governments. He considers aid from the Thai government to Pol Pot a violation of his sovereignty. Kompong Som is ready to receive ships up to 5000 tons. If there is a concrete agreement, it is between Heng Samrin and the international agencies only. Vietnam will always stand

by its friends. There are embassies in Hanoi, Havana and Moscow, and the international agencies can work through these embassies. If there's a problem, the Vietnam government is prepared to act as a go-between. They are also prepared to help with transportation.

It's important to stress that Vietnam and the Soviet Union have already contributed 200,000 tons of food to Cambodia. Only 300 tons have gone in so far by plane. They give a little aid and make a big noise.

**Is there any movement towards normalization of relations between Vietnam and the U.S.?**

There is no formal meeting with the U.S. authorities. In Geneva in July Richard Holbrooke (Assistant Under-Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs) met me for half an hour to explain why there is no normalization now. The reasons were Cambodia, the refugees and our relations with the Soviet Union.

I told him about what we have done and what we will do to safeguard the sovereignty and independence of Vietnam. It told him if he doesn't believe it he doesn't know enough about the Vietnamese people. I told him, "We believe you are now playing the China card, and we cannot tolerate this sort of thing."

**What was his reply?**

"NO, NO, we are not playing the China card," he said. I told him, "If you entertain relations with China, and have normal relations with China as with other countries in the world, this is your own affair and I do not want to interfere. At the same time, if you really want to have relations with Vietnam, and if you want to make a contribution to peace and stability in this region, then there are many possibilities. But if you continue to play the China card, then there is no hope. If you want to explain that you are not playing the China card, show it with words and actions and then come and tell me."

We did not have time to talk longer than that.



# LETTERS

**IN THESE TIMES** is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## FASANELLA

I WAS DELIGHTED TO SEE RALPH FASANELLA featured on the front page of a recent issue, but my delight turned to disgust when I read the review of his exhibit at Columbia College. Fasanella's art is significant not only because he himself is a worker-turned-artist whose work deals exclusively with the every-day life and struggle of working people, but above all because his work contains a very special message to the American left.

For those ITT readers who want to learn the *real* significance of Ralph Fasanella's work, and the special message he has for the American left, I recommend the recently published pamphlet by Joe Holland, "Flag, Faith & Family."

-John Rossen  
Chicago

## BOYCOTT THE ELECTION?

I'M A RETIRED STEELWORKER WHO has been reading your paper from its very first issue.

From all present indications we are once more going to be given a "choice" between millionaires in the 1980 Presidential election. From my situation as a consumer living on my Social Security and pensions, such a prospect is nearly incredible and totally unacceptable.

Why is it that Great Britain and other countries can have a Labour party and the U.S. cannot?

What is the matter with Labor in this country that they go along passively with government by the rich?

I seem to remember reading that in certain countries a vote of "no confidence" can bring the government down. What would happen if a coalition of groups & organizations could organize a vote of no confidence on the part of a vast majority in this country? By this I mean staying home on election day.

If there is no prospect of agreement on a candidate for us, why can't we agree not to support *their* candidate?

Let the foregoing give you the wrong impression, I am a member of DSOC and contribute to their projects as I find it possible I have given, and will again, to Democratic Agenda which is working within the system but it's their system, not ours.

We hear so much about the rightward drift of business and commerce in the U.S. The question is, are they acting or re-acting? Maybe they're just defending against what lots of little people like myself are thinking and doing and saying these days?

Best wishes for your continued success, ITT!

-Walter Allen  
Harvey, Ill.

## EDUCATION

I WAS DISAPPOINTED WITH THE ARTICLES on trends in higher education (ITT, Oct. 3). Perhaps the problem was with the questions posed to the contributors, but there are fundamental questions crying for a socialist treatment that were not addressed.

What should socialists expect of universities? That the people receive *education* and not merely *training*? That the students (particularly the un-

dergraduates, who are the overwhelming majority) get the best that higher education can offer? That the labor force (the faculty, as well as the secretaries, the maintenance crews, etc.) are fairly treated? That the institutions be as self-governing as possible? That hierarchy and bureaucracy be minimized?

1. **Administration:** The expansion of the universities has been accompanied by an even greater expansion of the bureaucracy over which the faculties have less and less control.

2. **Accountability:** The same mentality that governs business now governs academia more than ever before. "Accountability" is the buzz-word for legislators and administrators who view the world of the intellect in terms of "inputs" and "outputs." Programs and departments, it is increasingly hinted, should pay for themselves. Nothing substantive is said about quality of education in terms of intellectual values.

3. **"Publish or perish":** The best excuse for firing an instructor is that he or she has not published "enough," i.e., that she or he has not sufficiently neglected the students in and out of the classroom. Consequently, introductory courses, where students are the most numerous and pedagogy the most difficult, are increasingly turned over to inexperienced graduate assistants who should be concentrating on their own studies.

4. **Tenure:** Although civil servants have tenure and unionized workers have seniority, attacks on professorial tenure are increasing.

5. **The Budget Crunch:** The plight of the untenured is part of the plight of social services generally during stagflation. It is not limited to universities, but is part of the pressing problem of the public schools, health facilities, welfare, etc. The public is expected to accept cutbacks while corporate profits and military spending are maintained. The public deserves a properly functioning university, just as it deserves all those other services.

-L.G. Wolf  
Cincinnati, Ohio

## TIRED OF ABORTION

KAREN MULHAUSER'S ARTICLE "N.A.-K.R.A.L. takes Abortion Issue to the Polls" (ITT, Oct 31) is a bit out of place on page two. Surely other interests better deserve such prominent placement. Abortion rights can't be of *that* high a priority!

Frankly I am tired of the whole abortion debate. Mulhauser and her colleagues would get more sympathy if they instead were to direct their energies to safer, more effective birth control. The more I hear from the pro-abortion people, the more I tend to disagree with them. Let's here more about legit socio-economic issues and less about abortion.

-Celestine Watson  
Chicago

## TOM AND JANE

THERE IS A SAYING—CITED SOMEWHERE as an Arabic proverb—"the enemy of my enemy is my friend." Ronald Radosh's article (ITT, Oct 17) on the Hayden/Fonda appearance in New York brings that saying to mind.

Tom and Jane are waffling on the Palestinian issue, a bad habit that they

## An apology to Ralph Fasanella and to our readers.

Ralph Fasanella has been a lifetime painter of and for the working class. As the cultural editor, I wanted to provide a focus on this artist of our time. When the Steelworkers held an exhibit of his paintings, I was happy to arrange for two-part coverage of his exhibit: a critical assessment of his painting, and a character portrait of the artist.

I thought and think that Ralph Fasanella is an important artist, and I also think that the issue of what good art, for and of the working class, is important. So I advocated that we also make Ralph Fasanella the subject of an Oct. 31 ITT cover.

But the intent of a critical, supportive focus on Ralph Fasanella went astray, and I would like to apologize to our readers, to the Steelworkers, and to Ralph Fasanella and his family for that. Our reviewer, Nao Hauser, criticized his paintings as untrue to the issues and themes of the working

class. She had every right to argue that case, I think. But it was a mistake to leave the article unbalanced by any appreciation of Fasanella's work by someone who thought differently. Although Barbara Garson in her accompanying character portrait showed Ralph Fasanella's passionate belief in his work as a working class art, she did not address herself to his paintings in particular.

And so our intentions turned into the reverse; an assessment of Ralph Fasanella's importance looked only like a condemnation of him. We need to have not only praise or blame but vigorous debate on the meaning, the successes and failures of art for our time. One-sided presentation in either direction smothers thought.

We will, in the coming issue, publish opinions that counter those of our reviewer.

Pat Aufderheide

may have caught from Jerry Brown. I cannot otherwise understand Hayden's equivocations on the grounds of oil-company chicanery, and Fonda's criticism of Vanessa Redgrave. The one is totally irrelevant, and the other sounds like a too-convenient change of tone, to fit the situation.

Well. Whatever involvement the Shell, Gulf, and Exxon companies may have in Middle Eastern politics, that does not give anyone grounds to condemn the PLO. Some of our friends are not reputable—if we were to insist on only having friends and allies that were ideologically correct, we would be mighty lonely.

This would hold true even if the alliance of capitalists and Palestinians were more substantial than it is. If you doubt that, consider what kind of interest a capitalist can have in a landless people who produce practically nothing. Unless they are planning to move some of their factories to the West Bank, it would be more sensible to assume they have only an oblique interest in the Palestinians, based on the amount of fraternal interest shown by the oil-producing southern Arab countries.

The core of this issue is simple justice; the right to live in your own land, not to be crammed into refugee camps somewhere in between countries and be treated like an inferior species. If Zionist Jews cannot understand that, there is something wrong with the scheme of things.

I don't believe that this is what Theodore Herzl would call Zionism. Mutual recognition is the key, and peace jointly agreed on. It is the only alternative that is possible, aside from a suicidal war after which both sides would be nearly wiped out.

-D. Alan Curry  
Danville, N.Y.

## BIG OIL, SMALL PROTEST

JOHN JUDIS' ITT ARTICLE ON THE Big Oil Day of Protest (ITT, Oct. 24) was not up to his usual level of writing. The article tended to dwell on the low turnouts in some cities and the recent failures in Congress to reimpose price controls on oil.

He neglected any mention of individual success stories on the state level where meaningful political inroads are being made. As many national political strategists on the left have recently pointed out, powerful corporate interests often are not as well organized on the state level of government as they are in Washington. Significant political gains can and are being made on the municipal and state level.

Here in Connecticut, the state Citi-

zen/Labor Energy Coalition (C/LEC) was born late last spring during long gas lines and spiraling gas prices. Initial protests directed at Big Oil in Connecticut have since then moved to the political arena.

Conn. C/LEC, comprising over 25 citizen groups, unions, senior, church, and environmental groups representing over 140,000 people in Connecticut, was the first major organization to highlight the need for a special legislative session to deal with the impact of heating oil price in-compliments of Big Oil. At that time, late August, the Governor and legislative leadership were adamantly opposed to a special session. In one short month, due to Conn. C/LEC's efforts to force the session by buttonholing individual legislators to support a session, the Governor reversed her position 180 degrees and called the session.

Conn. C/LEC is introducing a comprehensive legislative platform that includes a grant/loan energy rebate program to be financed from an oil company revenue tax. This bold and progressive platform was highlighted at the statewide Big Oil protest in Hartford Oct. 17, where over 600 people heard speeches, sang songs, and marched by candlelight to the steps of the Capitol.

-P. Spencer Clapp  
Hartford, Conn.

## SO WHAT ELSE IS NEW?

YOUR EXPLANATION (ITT, OCT. 17) on why you didn't cover the Communist Party convention is interesting, but it doesn't explain your coverage of the visit of the Pope, who also does not carry the possibility of producing a Socialist majority in the U.S., and who even more than the CP had nothing new to say. As for news value, the fact that more than a thousand people attended the CP meeting was news to me, while I've known for years that there was a Pope.

-Bill Fishman  
Los Angeles

*Editor's note: It may be our mistake, but we believe more people are interested in the Pope than in the Communist Party.*

## CORRECTION:

A.B. Magil, the author of *Cuba under construction* (ITT, Nov. 7) was the associate editor of *Masses and Mainstream*, not the "long-time editor," as we identified him. He was the executive editor of *New Masses* during its last two years.



JOSE LALUZ

## Latino apathy, support mixed for Ted Kennedy

### THE PRIMARIES FOR THE 1980 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

are just around the corner and many organizations and individuals in Hispanic communities across the country are already discussing what is going to be their input in the presidential campaign. The possibility of a Kennedy candidacy has aroused a great deal of interest among Hispanics who are involved in the electoral process. Traditionally, the overwhelming majority of voters in the Hispanic community have been registered Democrats. They are, in fact, one of the constituencies—along with blacks, organized labor and liberals—that have given the Democratic party a popular base among working people and the poor. In the 1976 Presidential election they played an important role in assuring Jimmy Carter's victory. The voter turnout in areas with a high concentration of Hispanics increased substantially in that election.

But all these efforts did not bring significant changes for Hispanics after President Carter took office. The great expectations of cabinet level appointments, and most importantly, changes in public policy with respect to the situation of Hispanics, were not forthcoming. Illusions about economic and social prosperity were shattered after Carter revealed his conservative fiscal policies and his allegiance to Corporate America. The prospects are even worse today with high unemployment taking a heavy toll in the Hispanic communities.

In light of this, it is not difficult to understand why Sen. Ted Kennedy, because of his liberal record and the respect and prestige his brothers enjoyed

among Americans of Hispanic descent, is regarded as a sign of hope in Mexican-American and Puerto Rican communities.

Senator Kennedy has also said his major concern is the economy. Hispanics as well as other popular constituencies would agree with him. Unemployment has remained extremely high in the Hispanic communities and inflation imposes a heavy burden on the majority of Hispanic workers who tend to have a lower median income and hold low-paying jobs.

Many Hispanics will probably vote for Kennedy, but there are many others who would like to know where he stands on several issues of fundamental importance for the future of Hispanics. Many Chicanos, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics are more concerned about issues and programs than personalities. They have been activists in various social movements and political campaigns during the '60s, fighting for basic democratic rights. Other seasoned and experienced veterans of the "Viva Kennedy" clubs

or the La Raza Unida Party campaigns have become frustrated with the Democratic Party or with electoral politics altogether. Their involvement in these struggles have opened their eyes to the fact that Corporate America is a major stockholder in the Democratic Party.

Perhaps more significant is the apathy among broad sectors of the Hispanic community towards electoral politics. This apathy might be overcome, but only by speaking to the developing consensus in the Hispanic community about issues that have to be addressed.

First, the overwhelming majority of Hispanics will support economic policies to promote massive creation of jobs for all those willing and able to work. In a recent National Hispanic Conference in Albuquerque, N. Mex., full employment was declared a priority for Hispanics. The same holds true for other policies designed to alleviate the burden of the deepening economic crisis among Hispanic families, whose median income is \$10,259 compared to \$14,958 for all U.S. families.

But there are other issues in addition to economic policies that are of great importance. Public policies pertaining to immigration from Mexico and other

parts of Latin America, particularly the question of undocumented workers, have been inadequate and increasingly unpopular with Hispanics.

The right of Hispanics to preserve their language and culture has to be recognized and extended throughout every major institution in this society. The need to expand bilingual education is one of the first steps in recognizing a changing reality that results from the rapid growth of a population expected to become the largest American minority in the next decade.

Finally, several national Hispanic organizations have expressed a preference in seeing the Administration focus more attention on Latin America. The state of U.S.-Mexico relations, the political status of Puerto Rico, and the need to reexamine the Cuban situation are undoubtedly some of the crucial issues. If Senator Kennedy, or any other candidate for President, is legitimately concerned about the future of Hispanics, they should start examining these issues soon.

*Jose LaLuz is a specialist in labor education for Hispanics at the School of Labor and Industrial Relations of Michigan State University.*

## TMI report

Continued from page 4.

box-shuffling and will probably make the regulatory process confusing enough while the transition is in progress to delay licensing procedures and inhibit the flow of licensing applications.

The pervasive doubt the Commission's Report has thrown over the nuclear industry will make nuclear investors even more cautious than they now are, which in turn will make it more difficult for utilities to finance the skyrocketing costs of construction. Many investors will hold back to see how the NRC is restructured, if it is restructured, and whether operating licenses are going to be held up by a

moratorium. Investors may not wait with their money, but may place it instead in fossil fuel-fired power plants.

Investors and utilities alike are waiting to see the outcome of the upcoming Presidential election. Carter is a known, acceptable quantity for the nuclear industry, but Ted Kennedy publicly announced he favors a moratorium and opposes the development of nuclear power.

In short, the nuclear industry is now burdened with its greatest potential enemy—public uncertainty. It will continue its multi-million dollar media blitz, but already the Edison Electric Institute's full page newspaper advertisements are beginning to show wrinkles and cracks in the bright light of the Kemeny Commission Report.

*Mark Alan Pinsky is assistant editor of Critical Mass Journal.*

## The Insider's CUBA

February 9-23, 1980

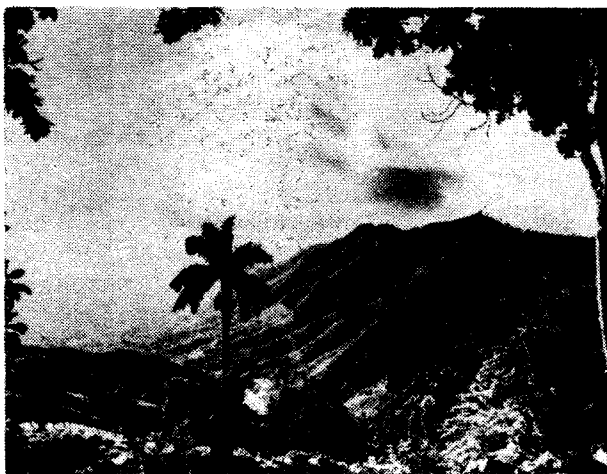
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## IN DEPTH

*Exiled dissident tries to  
unionize the Soviet Union*

By Robert Howard

WASHINGTON

**VICTOR FAINBERG SPENT FIVE YEARS IN SOVIET PRISONS** and psychiatric hospitals for protesting the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. But he does not correspond to the picture most people have of Soviet dissidents. Neither writer, scholar, nor scientist, Fainbert is a worker, a former fitter who helped build boilers and turbines in Leningrad factories. Now, he lives in Paris and works as the official representative of SMOT, the "Free Interprofessional Association of Workers," an organization of working class dissidents in the Soviet Union. According to Fainberg, SMOT is the only genuine trade union in the Soviet Union and the largest independent organization in the country.

Fainberg was in Washington in late September to take part in the third biannual International Sakharov Hearings. Organized by emigre Soviet dissidents to provide testimony on the violation of human, political, and economic rights in the Soviet Union, the Hearings are an opportunity for the heterogeneous dissident movement to come together around issues of common agreement and concern, and to inform each other and the public about their various struggles. This year's Hearings, financed in part by the AFL-CIO, devoted one of

four days to "the workers' question"—the status of the rights of Soviet manual workers.

Victor Fainbert's involvement with the dissident movement began over ten years ago in Leningrad. On Aug. 25, 1968, five days after the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, he was arrested along with seven other protestors during a brief demonstration in Moscow's Red Square. He spent the next five years, first in a KGB prison, then in various "special mental hospitals" for KGB prisoners. It was there that he met Vladimir Borisov, a 35 year old electrician and Marxist dissident, who went on to become the guiding force behind SMOT. At the age of 22, Borisov had organized "a clandestine Marxist group of workers" whose goal was to reconcile socialism with democracy. Arrested by the authorities and declared insane, he eventually spent nine years in Soviet psychiatric hospitals.

Fainberg and Borisov were in the same special mental hospital for the last three of these years. After a long campaign of hunger strikes, appeals smuggled out by sympathetic attendants, and international support from Amnesty International and other human rights groups, they were finally released in November 1973. After another brief arrest in the spring of 1974, Victor Fainberg emigrated first to Israel, then to western Europe to work full-time in the dissident movement.

Vladimir Borisov stayed in the Soviet Union and resumed contact with the opposition. "Being a Marxist," Fainberg says, "he thought that only a mass movement could bring about radical changes. He had a critical attitude towards the intellectual opposition because of the absence of links with the working class." As part of his project to

connect workers' struggles with those of the movement for individual freedom and human rights, Borisov helped found SMOT in October 1978.

SMOT claims about 200 members organized in ten autonomous sections in Leningrad and Moscow. Skilled workers seem to have played a leading role in its creation, but both manual and non-manual workers as well as some professionals belong. The union's Council of Representatives (ten members, elected by the sections, who have publicly avowed their involvement with the organization) includes an electrician, an engineer, a bricklayer, a porter in a bakery, a librarian, and even a zoologist. According to Fainberg, the Leningrad sections are more uniformly working class and the Moscow groups include more professionals. These distinctions however, have little practical meaning. Most of the known activists in SMOT have long since lost their original jobs and must find what work they can to survive. Vladimir Borisov works as a "forester," gathering wood on a contract basis at collective farms. Alexander Ivanchenko, another member of the executive council, was a senior engineer; he now works as a night watchman.

SMOT considers itself the only truly independent organization in the Soviet Union dedicated to the defense of workers' rights in all spheres of public and private life. "We are not a political organization but a trade union organization," says Fainberg, and as such, perfectly legal according to the letter of Soviet law. "We have the same goals as any other trade union in the world. Only the methods are different because of the specific conditions in our country."

Ideologically, SMOT is officially open to all tendencies, but if the founders are any indication, it can be placed squarely on the left wing of the dissident movement. Fainberg is not so sure Borisov is still a Marxist, but he is still a socialist. As for himself, he says, "we have had so many disappointments. I've decided to hold off from identifying myself with any one ideology."

Since last October, SMOT has tried to establish itself as a kind of clearing house for worker issues in the Soviet Union. An elected Working Commission investigates complaints and takes legal steps on the behalf of workers with grievances. It has published five issues of an "Information Bulletin" detailing its work. Much emphasis has also been placed on worker education. Librarian Valeria Novodvorskaya has organized the union's library and delivered lectures on literature, art, and Russian history to groups of SMOT members.

But because of constant harassment of its leaders by the Soviet authorities, it has been difficult to keep the association together and functioning. Even before the press conference that inaugurated SMOT one year ago, one executive council member, Vladimir Skvirsky, was arrested and sentenced to five years internal exile. On Nov. 1, 1978, Mark Morozov, a computer engineer and husband of another council member, was arrested and charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." His trial will take place soon.

Lev Volokhonsky, a former geologist, was arrested this March and sentenced to two years in a labor camp. During his trial it became clear that the authorities were considering rounding up the entire SMOT leadership. This hasn't happened yet but early last August three more council members including Borisov were incarcerated. Two received two week sentences, "simply to test the reaction of the West," says Fainberg. The third, Nicholas Nikitine, is still detained and should go to trial soon.

Fainberg believes that SMOT has survived this long in the fragile world of opposition to the Soviet state because of good organization and broad support among some groups of Soviet workers. "If the support weren't there, we could be crushed immediately." But he also insists that the vocal interest of western trade unions is crucial. The more publicity a particular case receives, the

better the chances for a light sentence or for the case being dismissed altogether. Fainberg thinks that a telegram from John Boyd, General Secretary of Britain's Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers was the decisive factor in the release of Valeria Novodvorskaya last February and that an open letter signed by George Meany and sent by the AFL-CIO to Borisov caused one of the many cases against him to be dropped last November.

For the most part, however, the support of western unions for SMOT has been "sporadic." Some labor federations and individual unions in Britain, France, and Switzerland have issued statements and sent telegrams. Swiss unionists have established a "Committee for Socialist Solidarity with Eastern European Dissidents." But so far SMOT has received no material support. Unions have been uninterested or cautious, and often the dissident movement becomes an unwilling victim of internal politics. An issue of SMOT's Information Bulletin describes two kinds of hesitancy on the part of western European unions—one "socialist," an inability on the part of the left, particularly communist unions, to criticize the Soviet Union; the other "bourgeois," an unwillingness on the part of centrist unions to rock the realpolitik status quo in international labor organizations like the ILO and risk the withdrawal of Soviet financial support.

In the months ahead, Fainberg will be concentrating on two tasks: soliciting support among American Unions and challenging Soviet abuses at the ILO in Geneva.

Recently, Fainberg met with Lane Kirkland and got a general pledge of support. The UAW has sent a telegram protesting the upcoming trials of SMOT members. In November, the ILO's Committee on Freedom of Association will consider complaints about Soviet persecution of SMOT made by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the Confederation Mondiale du Travail. While the proposals may pass the governing body, they will never make it out of the ILO's general assembly.

Fainberg claims the Soviets have made an "unholy alliance" with fascist dictatorships like Chile and Argentina to assure that all resolutions critical of state-dominated unions are blocked. Nevertheless, Victor Fainberg keeps on: "We have to connect the case of SMOT with the international struggle in the trade union community."

Participants at the International Sakharov Hearings were deeply upset at the paucity of news coverage their four-day conference received in the U.S. One sensed that with the near future of American-Soviet relations so unsure and the dangerous resurgence of cold war rhetoric at home, it was easier to ignore the complicated testimony of the dissidents rather than risk fanning the flames of the anti-SALT and anti-detente fires.

Soviet dissidents have usually been a 'conservative' issue in the U.S.; the anti-communist right has always been quick to champion their cause. For the left, the movement even has reactionary undertones; the image of Solzhenitsyn castigating American "weakness" in Vietnam comes immediately to mind. And the sad history of the AFL-CIO's earlier attempts to support "free" trade unions abroad might make unionists justifiably cautious.

But the Soviet dissident movement does not easily fit into the categories of our past history or internal politics. And as the story of SMOT demonstrates, it is far more politically diverse than most Americans imagine. For the left to overlook the stories of men and women like Fainberg only serves to reinforce a certain conservative monopoly on human rights issues as far as the Soviet Union is concerned. Talking about his good friend, Vladimir Borisov, Fainberg says, "Volodya is a worker. He is a socialist. It must be the workers, it must be those who are socialists and trade unionists who take the lead in defending him."

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## ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

## LITERATURE

## Longshoremen are also authors and artists

## THE WATERFRONT WRITERS

Robert Carson, ed  
Harper & Row, \$10.00

By Tom Wayman

This anthology of writing, photography and drawings by San Francisco dock workers is a pioneering effort in the exploring new genre of art about working life, produced by people who are doing (or who have done) the work their art describes. Like many productions by pioneers, *The Waterfront Writers* contains its share of rough spots. But the book succeeds in presenting its main subject—the daily existence of west coast longshore workers and ship's clerks.

The anthology is the product of a group of men associated with the San Francisco local (Local 10) of the longshore union (ILWU) who call themselves the Waterfront Writers and Artists. (ITT, Sept. 27, 1979). The Waterfront Writers and Artists began in 1977 to meet together to read publicly samples of the writing they had pursued individually. Photographers and artists who were also dock workers started to display their photos and sketches at these readings, and since then they have also prepared superb slide-tape shows about work on the waterfront. The Waterfront Writers and Artists have been warmly received both by their fellow dock workers and by San Francisco audiences.

In his introduction to this anthology of nine of their writers and four photographers, editor Robert Carson calls "for workers, artists, intellectuals—for every person—to review the facts of their lives... From this material a new literature can evolve, more relevant to the daily lives of people as they are." The most vital and effective writing in this anthology presents the longshore life from the inside, as the writer lives it.

In this way the writing differs fundamentally from the socialist realism of the '30s. Writers then, however sympathetic towards working people, often were not participants in what they wished to convey. The humor and anger of these waterfront poets and fiction writers is an insider's humor and anger. It arises naturally from the day-to-day world of booms, winches, containers, the hiring hall. Thus Gene Dennis in a comic poem entitled "Monopoly Capital and the Interpenetration of Imperial Markets at Pier 27" meditates on the absurdity of loading "six tons of (chicken) wings, necks and backs/bulk packed/bound for Sonny's Supermarket/on Pago Pago." And though Dennis, in "footnotes to the Glory Years," can spell out the horror of industrial deaths he has witnessed ("the sound Big Sam made/when he got pounded/into a blood-red puddle/falling four decks from a broken ladder"), he can also describe in "Loading Rice at 14th Street" a work shift where a "farm work-



ing rhythm" creates a "muscle mantra" that makes "this a day /I'd have paid to work."

In a filmscript by James Hamilton, "In The Hold," "The camera pans slowly down the length of the ship, moving past successive pairs of hook-on men, most of whom, but by no means all, are old-timers, sitting quietly or chatting in the late morning sun between loads; we catch glimpses of the *Racing Form*, the *People's Daily Worker*, the *Rolling Stone*, the *New York Review of Books*, etc." This implied mix of lifestyles and political attitudes, a reality in the North American work force today, is presented over and over again in the writing here. In Herb Mill's sociological survey, "A Rat's-Eye View of History: Storytelling on the San Francisco Waterfront," we get another sense of this in an encounter between four union veterans from the '30s. One of the old-timers tells how he approached a younger longshoreman sporting a Lenin button and asked him what the button is. The younger man explains it is a Mitch Miller Fan Club button. "He looked me right in the eye," the veteran reports, "and said, 'That's a profile of Mitch Miller.' Then he says, 'He's a musician, but maybe you know that. Anyway, you join the club, you get the button.'"

## Educated workers.

Mills, as well as being a long-time worker and a recent secretary-treasurer of Local 10, is a sociologist, complete with PhD. Some others in the group also have college degrees.

A college education is enough to invalidate any of these writers in the eyes of those who prefer to retain an image of the "real worker" as mute and slow-witted. But this always was a false image, and still is. Moreover, education is a door that, once opened, cannot be shut. In fact, the presence of so much college education in the workforce is having its effect in many areas. One of the visible signs of this is the emergence of the new work lit-

erature such as that gathered here.

There are also poems and stories on aspects of the background to waterfront life. These include family history: George Benet's poems "Women" and "The Year They Invented Poor People" are especially fine depictions of the family and growing up poor. In this vein also are Ken Fox's "Thoughts on My Mother's Death" and Robert Carson's deep sense of his family heritage of work and the sea expressed in his poems "For My Grandfather..." and "Urban Renewal: Icarus Descending." The latter poem also raises the issue of the changes to the urban environment brought by technology and "development." George Benet in two excellent stories, "Longshore Joe" and "The End of Ben Catlin," details the off-work lives of two longshoremen killing themselves with alcohol. And another escape from the daily work world of the docks is offered in a number of stories and poems on holiday impressions of Mexico. With this latter writing we have moved some distance from "The Literature of Work," as *The Waterfront Writers* is subtitled. We would expect in an anthology like this to find a range of artistic competency, and of course that range is present. But there are also poems and stories included here whose sole relation to the waterfront appears to be that they were penned by dock workers.

In my estimation the inclusion of this material is unfortunate. People seem to write most strongly about what they themselves know thoroughly, have thought about, and feel deeply about. And the majority of stories and poems arising out of the work experience in this anthology reflect this. But where writers try to present the lives and feelings of those they only imagine—for example, in a story here supposedly from the viewpoint of a nationally-syndicated political journalist, or a poem supposedly from the viewpoint of a G.I. apologizing to a Vietnamese for his actions—I think the writers make the

same mistake as did those other writers who for years thought that because of their sympathetic attitude they could speak "for" working people.

The very language of these poems and stories, when compared for example to that of the work narratives, shows where the strengths of the Waterfront Writers as writers usually lie. At its best, *The Waterfront Writers* not only teaches us much about the life of west coast dock workers but also provides an inspiration and a range of models for the rest of us to try our hand at setting down what our working lives are like.

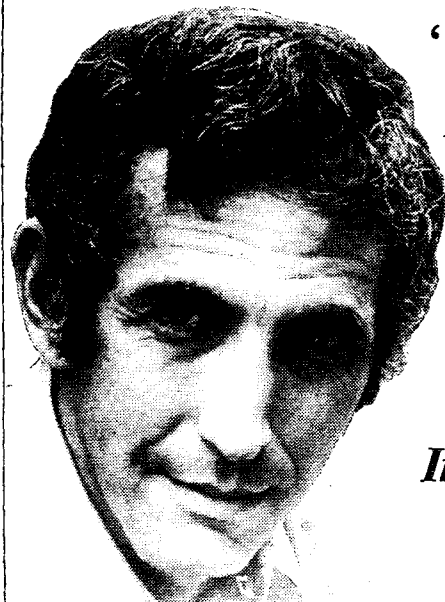
The photographs throughout *The Waterfront Writers* by Michael Vawter, Brian Nelson, Frank Silva and Leonard Mal-

liett—plus sketches by Nelson—ably convey the setting for the writers' words. As well, they speak about how these insiders see their work world.

Like the writers about the job in this anthology, these photographers by giving us their world help us to better see our own. And in so doing they remind us of what we all share as working people—the present conditions of our life, a long history, the possibility of a better future. Part of that future is surely art by and about us, and a major step in the growth of that art is *The Waterfront Writers*. ■

Tom Wayman, a Canadian, has written and edited books of poetry on work. His latest book is *Free Time*.

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## HOLLY NEAR CONCERTS

## National tour benefits anti-nuke groups

By Daniel P. Dern

"We're not asking everyone to give up their own causes to work in the anti-nuclear movement," said Holly Near. "What we are saying is that if we don't all work together to stop nuclear power and nuclear weapons, we're not going to have any future to worry about."

She was speaking at Passim Coffeehouse in Boston, Mass. in early October, previewing her three-month 25-city 28-concert tour with pianist J.T. Thomas and interpreter for the hearing-impaired Susan Freundlich to raise awareness, funds and workers for local anti-nuke groups across the country.

Once a mainstream performer, with credits ranging from the Broadway production of *Hair* to a part in the movie *Slaughterhouse Five*, Near abandoned a commercial career in the early '70s after touring the Pacific with Jane Fonda in the FTA (Free The Army) Show. Since then she has written songs about and sung benefits for Kent State, the farmworkers, battered women, the Native American movement, the slain Chilean poet Victor Jara, and women in prisons.

"I want people to go away from my concerts feeling prouder and feeling better about themselves," she explained at her Passim appearance. In recent years her focus has turned to women-oriented issues, leading her to work and tour with artists such as Meg Christian (one of the founders of Olivia Records).

*Like MUSE, these benefits are organized by musicians themselves. Unlike MUSE, each concert is a local affair, both for work and profits.*

Near got the notion of doing a national no-nuke tour back in April as she and her tour coordinators Jo-Lynne Worley and Joanie Shoemaker noticed a number of requests from no-nukes groups in various cities for her to do benefits. Spurred on by their own growing sense of urgency on the issue, the women began making phone calls. More requests came in, both in response to the calls and as word of mouth about the tour spread.

On this no-nukes tour, Holly & Co. hope to raise \$50,000 to \$100,000 for local anti-nuke groups. They also hope to expose new people to the issues of nuclear energy, as well as the other concerns Near supports. "We're not just interested in playing to the people who know us," Near explains. "This time, we'd like to have more newcomers in the audience—people who, when you mention there's going to be a Holly Near concert, say 'Holly Who?' We'd like everybody to try and bring at least two or three 'Holly Whos' with them."

"Four of the first five concerts were overwhelming suc-



Holly Near (above) tours with pianist J.T. Thomas.

cesses," Worley reported. "Each of these concerts had a sell-out crowd of one to two thousand. The concerts are a mixture of singing,

teaching and story-telling. Near's own no-nuke songs have grown into a 20-minute medley interspersed with factual discussion.

Efforts are made where possible to provide child care and access for the mobility-impaired. Despite the fund-raising aspects, local production companies often try to make some tickets available at reduced rates for those who cannot afford the full price.

Near's tour is the first national tour by a musician centered around the anti-nuclear issue. It is also her first issue-centered tour. Although the tour is being co-ordinated on a national level by Worley and Shoemaker, including the national distribution of posters and advertisements, each concert is organized locally.

Unlike the MUSE concerts, where the proceeds flow back to a foundation that re-distributes them, each of Near's concerts is a completely local affair. The national tour has a per-city fee to cover their costs. Beyond this, the local production and no-nukes groups in each city split up work and profits among themselves.

Along with the tour, Near has put out a 45 rpm record containing her anti-nuke song, "Ain't Nowhere You Can Run," plus "Take It With You Wherever You Go." Assisting Near on the single are J.T. Thomas, Linda Tillery, Patty Vincent, Robin Flower and Woodie Simmons. At least one of the concerts along the tour is being filmed.

Daniel P. Dern has written about folk music in over 20 publications, including *The Boston Phoenix* and *Singout*. Tour information is available from 1197 Valencia, San Francisco, CA 94110. 415-285-0381.

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This is the first in a series of assessments of trends in art and entertainment as we move into a new decade. Critic James Monaco analyzes a major development in commercial filmmaking in the '70s.

By James Monaco

The birth of the black film of the late '60s and early '70s—with blacks, by blacks, and for blacks; written, directed, and acted by blacks (and sometimes even produced and financed by blacks)—was the major success of the Hollywood Renaissance of 1968-1970. Consequently, the virtual disappearance of the black film in the mid-'70s has been the greatest failure of the American film business in recent years.

True, there are far more blacks in American film now than there once were, but few have been able to maintain positions of power. None, for example, holds a major executive position at any studio. Roles are more varied and sophisticated, but for the most part, they are still stereotypical. It is still remarkable when a black actor is cast for a role that a white actor could play. Black aspirations have been trimmed, modified, and channeled by the industry to serve its own ends.

For a long time, it was a triumph just to be seen, no matter how demeaning the role, no matter how outrageous the stereotype. But within the last 10 years the situation has changed. Black Americans appear in television commercials and shows and on movie screens with some regularity, and the public is much more sensitive to the old stereotypes. The significance of this change shouldn't be underestimated. The media now "validate" black existence in a way they never did before. The problem now is to increase the quality and quantity of the role.

A parallel, underground black film business had operated since the early years of movies but it was never strong—plagued by lack of capital and limited to ghetto theaters. Moreover, from the '20s to the '50s, this parallel black cinema often aspired no higher than to mimic white films, and white entrepreneurs exerted considerable financial control. Only in the late '60s, with the rise of the militant Black Power movement, were blacks able to gain a foothold in Hollywood.

The box-office success of the liberally sentimental *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner?* in 1967 serves as a milestone. Sidney Poitier has been rightfully criticized over the years for projecting a white man's image of the black man, and nowhere is this more painfully clear than in *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner?* but it must be remembered that for almost 15 years those were the only roles open to Poitier (or any other black actor). It is at least arguable that the careers of men like Poitier, Belafonte, and even Sammy Davis, Jr., were necessary steps before blacks could play roles devised by and aimed at black people.

In 1968 and 1969, Poitier moved quickly to exploit his newfound influence. (So did other black actors.) He worked out the story line for *For Love of Ivy*, in which he starred with Abbey Lincoln (Daniel Mann directed, Robert Alan Auerbach wrote the script)—a dull movie but influential: the first major Hollywood black love story. He later turned to directing himself with *Buck and the Preacher* (1971), *A Warm December* (1972), and *Uptown Saturday Night* (1974). Its sequel, *Let's*

# STATE of the ART

## F I L M



Blacks worked more in white films (above left, in *California Suite*) and on TV (right, in *Roots*) than in black films (Bingo Long, above right) by the late '70s.



Many black actors came to film after garnering fame elsewhere, like comedian Richard Pryor.

## Black film's rise and fall in the blockbuster era

*A more decentralized film industry may bring back a hospitable atmosphere for films by and for blacks in the '80s.*

*Do It Again*, which Poitier also directed (in 1975), is the highest-grossing black film of the '70s (and therefore of all time).

It quickly became apparent that, for the most part, black films were subject to the same box-office rules as white films. Black audiences were just as eager to buy the twin commodities of action and sex as white audiences were, and studios therefore were far more willing to finance such genre pictures. Some black producers tried to raise money from the black business establishment. It proved even more conservative than the Hollywood financial organizations. The black film of the early '70s

was soon dominated by what *Variety* quickly labeled "blaxploitation."

Blaxploitation wasn't an entirely negative phenomenon: at least such films corrected white distortions—even if they didn't reflect a black reality. Moreover, the films gave work to black actors. Most of the new generation moved into films from allied areas. Action heroes came mostly from sports (Rosey Grier, O.J. Simpson); nightclub and television monologists (Godfrey Cambridge, Jimmie Walker, Richard Pryor). Music was another source of talent, especially for women, and theater supplied the best trained of the black actors of

the late '60s and '70s.

In fact, the black revolution in film was foreshadowed and accompanied by the black revolution in theater. Films made from black plays have been one of the categories to challenge blaxploitation in film. Oscar Williams' *Five on the Black Hand Side* (1973), from the play by Charlie L. Russell, is an example. Allied with the filmed plays have been the uplifting morality tales of the liberal aesthetic, usually by whites: *Souther* (1972) and *Conrack* (1974). Neither of these categories proved a serious threat to blaxploitation.

While blaxploitation did have a noticeable and apparently long-

lasting effect on Hollywood, the phenomenon was surprisingly short-lived. By 1974 the number of black movies had been reduced to a trickle. But thereafter, blacks have been a significant factor in the commercial economic equation. Ironically, the fall of black film—as rapid as its rise—was in no small part a measure of its success.

As critic Clayton Riley has pointed out, black films helped significantly to stabilize the industry during the difficult period of 1968-72. But once producers realized the economic potential of the black audience it was only a matter of time before they extrapolated this new data and came to the conclusion that they didn't have to make entirely black films to exploit it. Surveys showed that as much as 35 percent of the audience for such blockbusters as *The Godfather* (1972) and *The Exorcist* (1973) was black.

The "crossover" film essentially replaced the black film, except for a few independent productions. Once again, the dilemma of the black situation in America presented itself: how to make a contribution to the general culture while at the same time maintaining a separate and thriving black identity.

There was a second reason for the decline in black films in the '70s: television discovered the potential of black culture. The enormous success of the television series based on Alex Haley's *Roots* is of such magnitude as to make recent movie blockbusters pale by comparison. The eight episodes of the series had ratings that garnered for them eight out of the top ten positions on Nielsen's list of most popular television programs of all time.

Co-optation by television and the crossover dilemma together have sapped black film of much of its strength in the late '70s.

Although they went underground in the late '70s, the black filmmakers who came of age 10 years ago continue to work. Melvin Van Peebles, who was responsible for the scathing *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song* in 1970 has moved on through careers in records, theater, and even cabaret to some interesting work in television. Ossie Davis, who was instrumental in setting up business structures for black filmmakers in the early '70s continues to work behind the scenes. Gordon Parks, Sr., (*Shaft*, *The Supercops*, *Leadbelly*) may have to return to crossover movies.

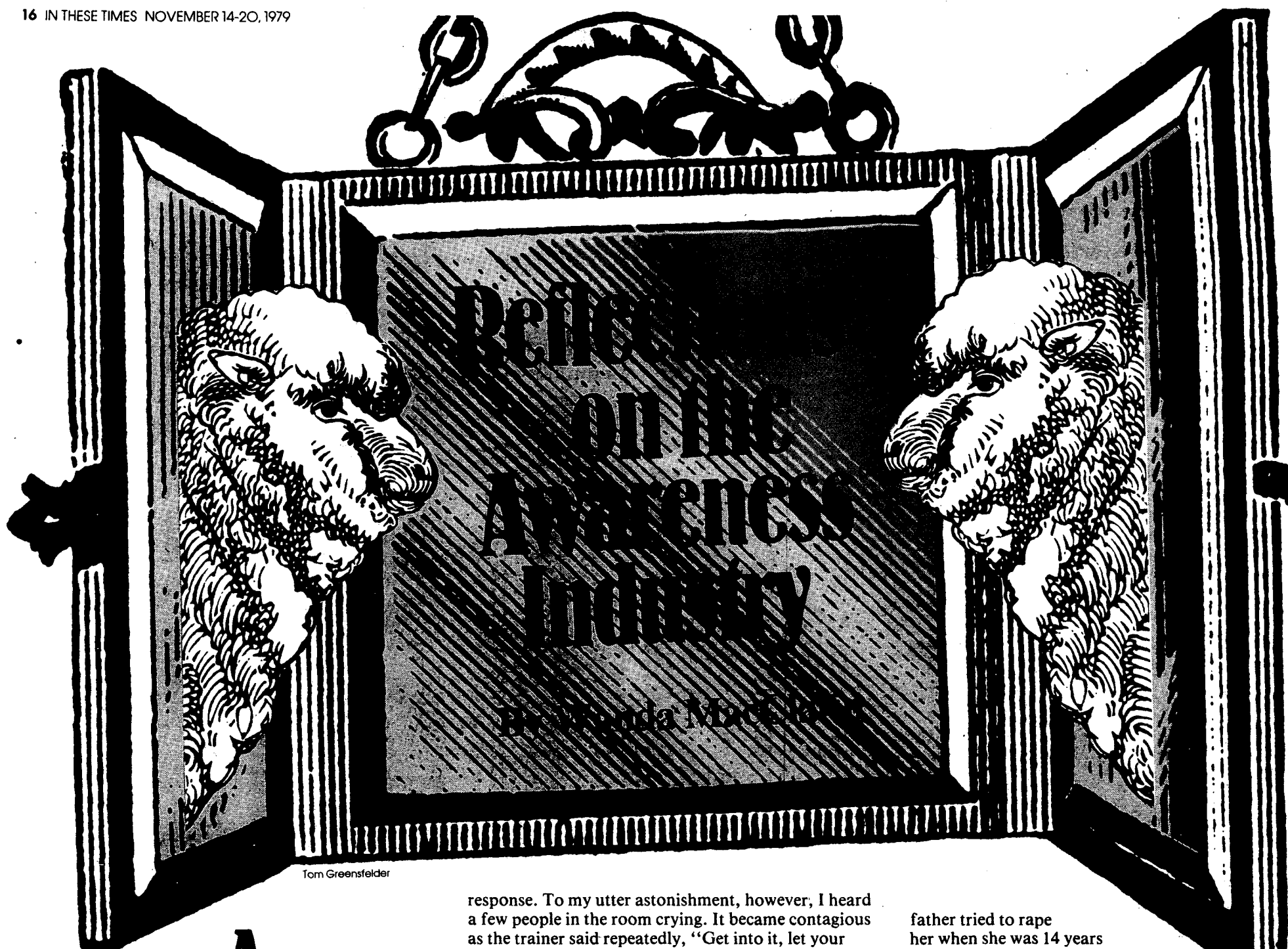
But Bill Gunn, director of the brilliant *Ganja and Hess* in 1973 plans a return to commercial film this year with *Rhinestone* based on his play *Black Picture Show*. Gunn hopes to shoot the film in 16 mm for less than half a million dollars this fall on location in New York. The financing will come almost entirely from black sources.

The future of black film in the '80s lies in this direction. As the studios continue decentralizing under antitrust pressure and other industrial forces, black filmmakers may once again have a chance to speak directly to black audiences.

It may be quite some time before directors with a particularly black sensibility will be permitted to take charge of "blockbuster" properties. Yet the rise of an American film industry increasingly aimed at individual segments of the market should make for a hospitable atmosphere once again for black film in the '80s.

James Monaco's latest book is *American Film Now: the People, the Power, the Money, the Movies*.





Tom Greensfelder

**A** while back, when I faced an important career choice, a friend urged me to take Lifespring training before making my decision. He said Lifespring had changed his life and this seemed true. He had been a tense, nervous man, a chain smoker who drank 15 cups of coffee a day. Now he appeared calm, self-assured and neither smoked nor took caffeine.

Lifespring Basic Training, one of the diverse businesses in the human potential movement, purports to be for "healthy people who want to grow." Like its better-known competitor, Erhard seminars training (EST), it is a series of lectures, "sharings" with the group, and exercises.

Lifespring's founder and president John Hanley once told an assistant that "est is like Listerine and Lifespring is like Scope." Hanley worked with est founder Werner Erhard at Mind Dynamics, another personal growth business, before each went his way.

Although I had always been skeptical of such groups, I signed up. The price for 50 hours spread over five days was \$250 and there is a money-back guarantee for the dissatisfied. Hanley says "probably less than one percent" of some 35,000 customers have claimed it. I was to be included in their number.

On a Wednesday evening in a San Francisco hotel meeting room, I looked around at the 110 other people in my group and was reassured. They looked normal enough. Most seemed to be in their 20s and 30s, and by their clothes they looked middle or upper-middle class.

A trainer (there are two trainers with six assistants) explained this was an authoritarian system, with the trainers in complete control. We were to agree to follow instructions and obey rules. We agreed.

No one could leave the room during the training. The room was windowless and watches or clocks were not allowed. Time became an undifferentiated flow, and the training began to seem like the only reality. We slept only four or five hours a night. The trainer acknowledged later the sleep deprivation was deliberate, to make us less dependent on our rational minds.

#### Cheap sentiment.

We plunged into five days on an emotional roller coaster. When I finally got off, I decided it had been a shoddy and dangerous ride.

In one early exercise, for example, we paired off with partners and sat opposite them. The lights in the room were lowered and we listened, with eyes closed, while the trainer talked about a perfect childhood day.

We were told to return in our minds to such a day and remember that carefree feeling, the games we played, our favorite dinner, and the love of parents. Then we were asked to remember our fathers' faces. Suddenly, from the speakers around the room came a sentimental song crooning about "Dad."

I opened my eyes in surprise—I couldn't believe they were using such cheap devices to manipulate a

response. To my utter astonishment, however, I heard a few people in the room crying. It became contagious as the trainer said repeatedly, "Get into it, let your feelings flow, don't hold back." The room was soon filled with the sounds of 100 people sobbing and shrieking.

In the days that followed we were told repeatedly that the major obstacle to self growth is a stubborn clinging to "Fixed Beliefs and Values." We were urged to re-examine our fixed beliefs and, if possible, to reject them.

The trainers were explicit about the Lifespring beliefs. One is that emotion and intuition, not intelligence, are the valuable determinants of human behavior.

Another is that there is no ultimate truth or reality. A Lifespring person will never disagree with anything. Instead, he will say, "I'm open to that, but my experience has been..."

"During World War II the Allies thought they were right, and the Axis powers thought they were right," one of the trainers said. "Germany and Japan surrendered, received American aid, and are now powerful countries." That was conclusive proof, he said, there is no ultimate right or wrong.

Yet one side in that war had murdered six million people in concentration camps. I am sorry to report that neither I nor anyone else challenged the trainer's version.

#### Blame the victim.

According to Lifespring, selfishness governs every human action. People may perform generous or altruistic acts, but their motive is always selfish—to feel superior or self-righteous. Trainees were encouraged to act on their selfishness.

A middle-aged woman screamed into the microphone at one point that she hated her ex-husband because he no longer wanted their teenaged son to live with him. She said her former husband wanted to "dump" the son on her to care for, and she didn't want him.

The trainer asked her why she was "afraid" to throw her son out on the street, which is what she really wanted to do. The trainer concluded, on the basis of her hesitant replies, that she had a "martyr complex" and probably always would. "You would rather be right and unhappy than wrong and happy," he said. The woman agreed and took her seat.

In the Lifespring world, each person must accept total responsibility for everything in his life. If you're poor, for example, it's your own fault. The only barriers to getting more money are such beliefs as: I don't deserve it; there is something slightly evil about money; it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to pass through the gates of heaven.

To dramatize this, the trainer staged a "Victim Contest." Three people who considered themselves victims volunteered to compete.

The first was a man in his 40s whose diabetes flared up whenever he had a problem with a woman. The second was a young woman who claimed that her

father tried to rape her when she was 14 years old. The third was a woman in a wheelchair who had broken her back in a car accident.

To judge who was the greatest victim, the trainer held a hand over each of the three in turn and the group voted by applauding for their favorite. The woman in the wheelchair won.

The trainees then paired off and performed an exercise which demonstrated that both victims and winners were responsible for themselves. The three contest victims then shared with the group what they had learned.

The diabetic man actually had a psychosomatic problem. The second woman said she had probably encouraged sexual advances from her father, to compensate for the normal love she didn't receive. And the trainer told the crippled woman that he sensed she was a very powerful person who couldn't deal with that power, so she set herself up to have the car accident which disabled her.

#### Conformism.

The success of the Lifespring training is partly dependent on the tremendous group pressure to conform that emerges when 111 people spend five days together. The trainers use authoritarian methods to manipulate the desire to belong.

During the first day or two, the trainers willingly acknowledge any skepticism. Later, by a wink or the use of sarcasm, they encourage the group to silence dissenters. By the end, known dissenters are not allowed to address the group—the trainer does not recognize them when they want to speak, and they are not given microphones. I was not one of the known dissenters. My criticisms were silent, or shared with other dissatisfied people I found.

On the fourth day of the training, one young woman stood up to address the group. She said that for the first few days she had seen nothing of value in the training. But, she continued, she had asked herself how she could be right and 100 others could be wrong. On that basis she now thought the training was valuable.

The trainer smiled broadly when he heard this, and the group applauded the woman.

The odds are further stacked against dissenters. If anyone did not agree with a process or belief in the training, it was considered his problem. The training itself could never be wrong. Any disagreement was summarily dismissed by a variation of this argument: "You're just not trying hard enough; you don't want to get into it; you're unwilling or afraid to let yourself go and experience the training."

I called the Lifespring area director after the training ended to ask for my \$250 refund. There was no argument about the refund, but he wanted to know why. When I told him some of my objections to the training, he said in true Lifespring form, "I'm open to that."